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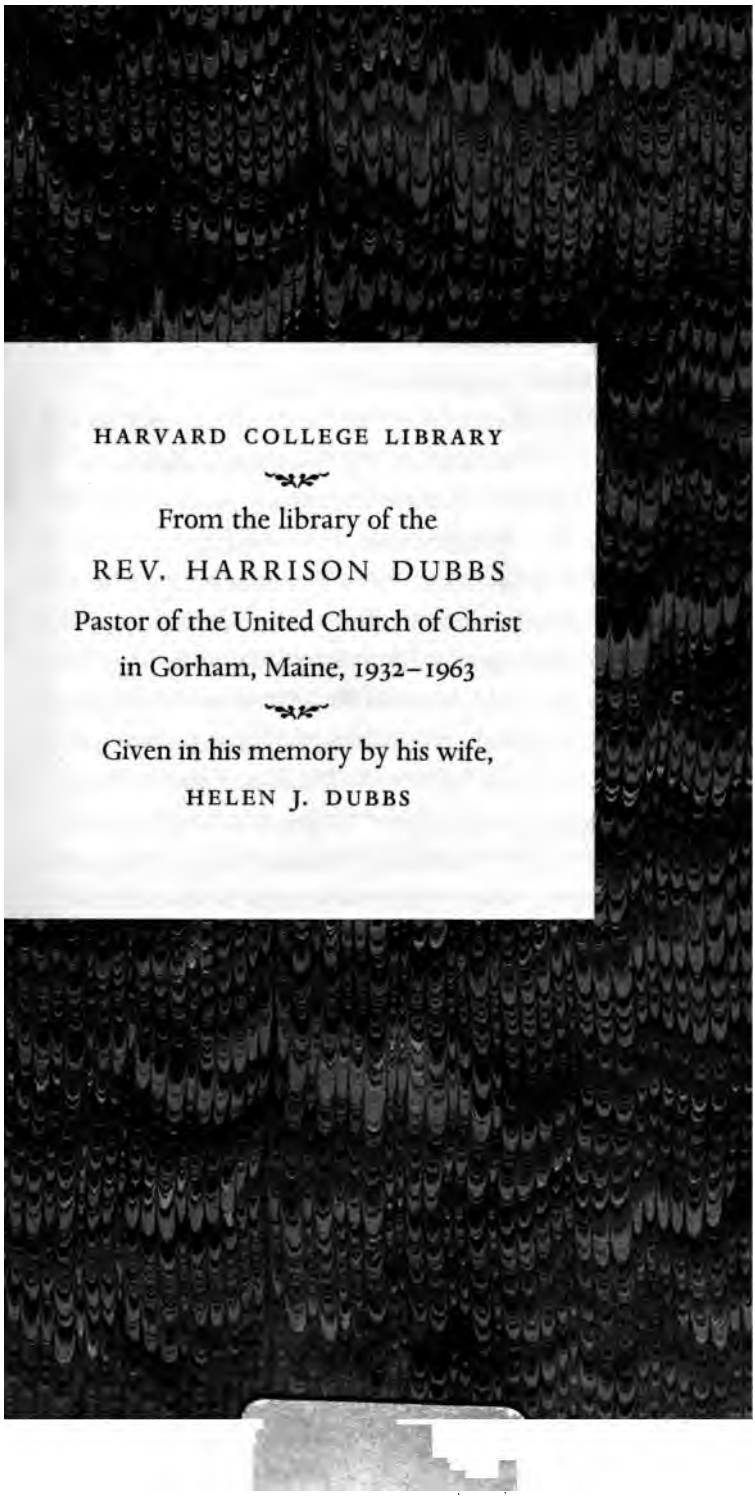
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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE REVEREND

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SWARTZ.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

BY

HUGH PEARSON, D.D. M.R.A.S.

DEAN OF SALISBURY.

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OF

THE REV. C. F. SWARTZ.

CHAPTER XIII.

Swartz as a Preacher—Extract of a letter, from Mr. Kohlhoff to Dr. Buchanan, upon this subject—Substance of four MS. Sermons of Mr. Swartz—Observations upon them.

THE conclusion of the letter in the preceding chapter, in which Mr. Swartz, with so much simplicity, mentions the disinterested liberality with which he contributed to the fund for building a church for the native Christians in the suburbs of Tanjore, may with propriety direct our attention to his character as a preacher. His religious principles, and even his views of Christian doctrine, have been already amply developed, both in the extracts from his missionary journals,

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and in the letters to his friends in the former volume of this memoir. It may be useful, however, and interesting, to present a fuller and more distinct view of his ability and method, as a teacher of that gospel, which he so thoroughly understood, and so cordially loved, and of which he was so eminent and successful a minister. Swartz himself published nothing, either in the form of sermons, or any other religious instruction, except the Dialogues between a Christian and a Heathen, which have been already mentioned,[1] as translated into the Tamul language. His original destination, and his principal employment as a missionary, requiring chiefly catechetical instruction, and the simple exposition of Scripture, the elaborate composition of discourses for the pulpit never formed a part of his stated occupation. Though from the period of his residence at Trichinopoly he was engaged in preaching to the British troops in garrison at that place, and afterwards at Tanjore, it was only occasionally that he wrote his sermons at length. Such is the account given by Mr. Kohlhoff, in a letter to the late Dr. Buchanan, from Negapatam, dated February 7th, 1810, when transmitting, together with other materials for a memoir of his life, the only specimens which remain of his pulpit compositions.

[1] Vol. i. p. 319.

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"I have the pleasure," says this excellent man, "of sending you herewith two packets, containing four sermons of the late venerable Mr. Swartz, copied from those written by himself, and am sorry there are not more to be found among his papers. His work and labours would not allow him to write the whole of his sermons. He generally preached extempore, and only sometimes put down on paper the chief heads of his sermon, either in English or German. I have collected a good many of these from his papers, and shall transmit to you some of the former, by the next opportunity that offers."

The collection of notes, to which Mr. Kohlhoff refers, unhappily never arrived; but of the four sermons which Dr. Buchanan received, the following is the substance; and while it seems a sacred duty to rescue them from oblivion, their intrinsic excellence well deserves their insertion in this memorial of their revered author.

It was evidently his general practice to adopt some portion of Scripture which formed part of the service for the day, as the subject of his discourse. Thus two of the sermons which have been preserved, appear to have been preached on Christmas-day, from Luke ii. 1—14; the second lesson for the morning of that festival.

"The most superficial consideration," observes

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the judicious preacher, "of this history, will convince us of two remarkable circumstances respecting the birth of Jesus Christ. There is an intimation of the deepest humiliation of our Saviour, and there are, at the same time, very visible evidences of his greatness. Both circumstances must be considered; otherwise the birth of our Saviour will prove rather a stumbling-block to us than a divine means of raising our hearts to gratitude and praise.

"Jesus came into the world for a most extraordinary purpose,—to save that which was lost, to become the first-born, or head of the unhappy family of Adam. The consideration of this intention will clear up all our doubts, and convince us of the propriety of the humble circumstances in which he appeared; and none are or ever will be offended at his humiliation, but those who forget that they are sinners."

The first indication of our Saviour's humiliation to which Swartz refers, is the enrolment at Bethlehem, in pursuance of the decree of the Emperor Augustus, which was a mortifying proof that the Jewish nation was no longer free, but that God had, as in ancient times, delivered his people into the hands of the Gentiles.

"If," he says, "we heartily believe the true dignity of Jesus Christ, who was the Son of God,

the Creator and Preserver of all things; if we look upon him, as holy Scripture teaches us, as the heir of all things, and then consider how he appeared at Bethlehem, how his name was enrolled, we must acknowledge that he was made very low. The Son of God hid his glory, and condescended to be treated as the subject of a heathen emperor. 'He took upon him the form of a servant,' that we, as holy Zacharias prophesied, 'might be saved from our enemies and from the hand of all that hate us.'

"A second proof of our Saviour's humiliation was his becoming a pilgrim, being born on a journey, as one who had no fixed habitation.

"Our first parents were placed in paradise, in the garden which God had planted for them. But Jesus was born as a pilgrim, at an inn, even in a stable, and laid in a manger, and thus became like ourselves who were turned out of paradise into the desert of the world. This, as it is a striking proof of his humiliation, so is it of his immense love to mankind. He had deserved to be in the house of his father amidst the joyful acclamations and praises of angels; but moved with divine compassion, he chose our condition, that he might restore us to his father's house, even to a heavenly paradise. Again; 'He was born in *the night.*' And what was our condition? 'Behold,' says the prophet Isaiah, 'darkness

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shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee and his glory shall be seen upon thee.' Zacharias described in a similar manner the condition of the world at the coming of Christ, 'as sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death.' The Saviour appeared to procure for us 'the light of life.'

"The *poverty* which he suffered from the day of his birth was another proof of our Lord's deep humiliation. 'There was no room for him in the inn.' There was no provision made for him. He came, but none regarded him. Heaven and earth belonged to him as their maker and Lord; but though infinitely rich, for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be made rich—rich in heavenly, and even in temporal blessings, as far as is consistent with the welfare of our souls.

"O my brethren, here is a mirror of the transcendent love of your Redeemer. Look upon his poverty with the enlightened eye of faith; and how can you withstand his amazing love! Whatever blessings you enjoy, remember that you owe all to his meritorious poverty, by which he purchased for you all spiritual and temporal blessings. Lay, then, before him all your wants, trusting in his mediatorial power to supply them. You are poor, but behold, to those who acknowledge their poverty, and, sensible of their own inability to

help themselves, hunger and thirst after righteousness, the riches of his grace are offered. CHAP. XIII.

"At the same time, I entreat you to use every blessing, whether spiritual or temporal, to the glory of your Redeemer. If instead of thanking him for his bounty, you abuse it by rioting, drunkenness and intemperance, how will you answer for such heinous ingratitude?

"O that the view of our Saviour's humiliation might destroy all the seeds of pride in our souls! O that it might be the divine means of bringing us to a true knowledge of ourselves, and consequently to a deep-rooted humility! Whoever cherishes pride is ignorant of his true condition; he denies the necessity of Christ's humiliation, and becomes an unbeliever, who has no share in the merits of his Redeemer.

"Let us then entreat God to work in our hearts true humility from the consideration of that of our Lord, even from his very birth. Let us check all the sinful emotions of pride and haughtiness, and lay hold on the humility of Christ, as a part of the atonement made for our sins, that we may obtain pardon by it; and let us humbly thank and praise him for this his amazing love to mankind in redeeming them from all the effects of their pride and self-exaltation.

"Having considered the proofs of the deep humiliation which our blessed Redeemer suffered

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at his birth, let us now attend to the evidences of his dignity and greatness.

"These latter throw a most striking light upon the former, by teaching us how highly God was pleased with him, and consequently that the lowliness in which he appeared, was not on account of himself, but only of his being our mediator and surety. These proofs of the greatness of our Saviour dispel all our doubts, cheer and strengthen our faith in him, and make him appear in his divine brightness and glory, removing all the offence which without them we might take at the lowly circumstances of his birth.

"The first testimony of the Redeemer's greatness was the divine contrivance for gathering the whole nation of the Jews together. It is true, when we take a superficial view of it, we may think that there was nothing in the decree of Augustus which reflected honour upon the newborn Redeemer. But more mature consideration will convince us that the hand of Providence directed all these circumstances. Jesus was promised to the Jewish nation, as their king and deliverer from sin, from the power of the devil, and from eternal condemnation. It was therefore just and meet that the nation should be collected together at the time when their long-expected king appeared. Nor ought it to seem strange to us, since we know that God by his unsearchable

wisdom orders all the occurrences of civil government to the purposes of his glory. CHAP. XIII.

" A second proof of the dignity of Christ was the assembling of the angels, or children of heaven, to whom God manifested the riches of his mercy to a fallen world. The angels themselves were not so much concerned in the birth of Jesus as we are; but still we find it filled their hearts with joy and adoration. And ought it not to have the same effect upon us?

" Thirdly; the birth of our Saviour was immediately manifested to mankind, and that by the command of God, though at first only to a few, namely, to the shepherds who were watching over their flocks in the plains of Bethlehem. If you ask why the gospel of Christ was not proclaimed first to the high-priest, scribes and Pharisees, the answer is plain; because those priests were less qualified to receive the glad tidings of his birth. Their pride would have hindered them from perceiving the dignity of Jesus in the manger; but the humble shepherds were better prepared for the reception of that gospel, and therefore they were favoured with the intelligence of the newborn Saviour. 'Wherefore,' he saith, 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble.'

" Fourthly; the messenger who was sent to publish the glad tidings of the birth of Jesus, was

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an angel, who appeared in bright glory, speaking of him in a very lofty manner. 'Fear not,' said he, to the affrighted shepherds, 'for unto you is born this day in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.'

"To-day God has begun to accomplish his divine promise concerning the salvation of mankind. The Saviour whom you stand in need of, and who has been promised by a merciful God, is Christ, who is able to save, being filled with the Holy Ghost; and not only so, but he is the Lord, our Lord and yours; he is truly God.

"That which the angel thus spake to the praise of Christ was not of his own mind, but by the command of God. From the day of the Redeemer's birth he began to glorify Jesus in order to attract our hearts to trust in him.

"'And suddenly a host' of heavenly spirits appeared, and fired with the love of God, sang praises to him, proclaiming the salvation which the divine Redeemer was born to purchase. 'Glory to God in the highest.' Now is the blessed time when the glory of God which has been concealed and darkened by sinful man shall be illustrated. The glory of his mercy, holiness, righteousness, and truth, shall be displayed, not only by the doctrine, but by the sufferings and atonement of the Redeemer, to the intent that all mankind may fear and love him.

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"'And on earth, peace.' Now is the time when peace, which men had lost by the fall, by which they became obnoxious to the wrath of God, shall be established by the Saviour, who came to bear the curse mankind had deserved, and to restore them to the favour and blessing of the Almighty. A new foundation will thus be laid for their happiness. By the tidings of this peace mankind will be comforted, and induced to believe in God, to accept his grace, and to rejoice in him. 'Good will towards men.' As God will regard them with kindness, so will men begin to love God as their father. The image of God in which they were at first created will now be re-established.

"This is the purport of that angelic hymn which those children of heaven sang that very night when Christ was born, by which they joyfully proclaimed the unspeakable blessing which should be purchased by Jesus Christ, and by which God glorified him as the divine Redeemer of the world.

"Let us all, therefore, be animated to praise that blessed Saviour. His love towards mankind was truly great when he took upon him our nature. Our love to him should consequently be very lively, and show itself in all proper expressions. Let us draw near to him, adoring him for his inestimable loving-kindness; and let us entreat him to grant us divine light, grace, and bles-

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sing, that by us, as always, so particularly on these days, God may be glorified, true peace and reconciliation with him may be enjoyed, and a filial disposition and obedience towards him may be excited in our hearts by the gracious operation of the Holy Spirit. Amen!"

The second sermon upon this passage of Scripture dwells chiefly on the angelic message and the anthem of the heavenly host.

"It was," he observes, "a most agreeable invitation to joy which was addressed by a heavenly messenger, first to the poor shepherds, and not only to them, but to all who are concerned in the wonderful event proclaimed by that angelic preacher.

"All mankind wish for joy—what pity is it that they too commonly mistake the true source and foundation of it. Let us consider them as disclosed in our text.

"The very first word spoken by the angel is a spring of joy. 'Fear not.' They were alarmed at the glory which accompanied his appearance. This was a plain proof that they were of the race of sinners. Fear, or the apprehension of a threatening evil, is a sign that we have lost our original innocence. No sooner did our first parents sin, than a fearful apprehension of punishment seized them. It is true, a wise and gracious

God may and does use and direct our fear as a method of awakening us from the impending storm; but when we recur to its first origin, we must own it to be the sad effect of the fall. This fear we all feel, if we reflect on what passes in our hearts. Nay even those who shamefully deny their Maker, saying, 'There is no God,' even they fear, and often where nothing is to be feared. So that all mankind are subject to this afflicting passion, because all are sinners.

"Is it not, therefore, matter of joy when a merciful God sends a messenger from heaven, and bids us restrain our fear? How reviving is such an exhortation! It testifies of the tenderly compassionate heart of God towards us. He beholds us afflicted with fear; but he has provided an effectual remedy for curing it, and restoring us to true serenity and peace of mind.

"'Behold,' said the angelic messenger, 'I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people; for unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour which is Christ the Lord.' This is the gospel, the very essence and marrow of it, which God designed for the effectual comfort of mankind.

"The person of Christ is described by the angel. He describes him as David did in the 110th Psalm; 'The Lord said unto my Lord.' So majestic and divine a person has been sent.

CHAP. XIII. Well might the prophet call upon the world to rejoice. Of this divine person who was promised and foretold by the prophets, particularly by Isaiah, it is said that he *is born*—that he left the throne of his majesty, and stooped very low to rescue us from our misery. This is the divine doctrine which affords rich matter of the highest and purest joy—that a Saviour has taken upon him our nature, and out of mere love to mankind is concerned in the highest degree for their salvation. O what wonderful love must have been in the heart of our compassionate Redeemer! Blessed are we who have so clear and certain an assurance of this astonishing transaction, with the distant light of which many pious kings and prophets were obliged to be contented, and in the prospect of which they rejoiced. How much more should we rejoice, who have so much better an opportunity of knowing the personal glory of our Redeemer!"

He next refers to the lowly and suffering condition in which the divine Redeemer appeared, as illustrating and aggrandising his love to mankind, and on which he had enlarged in the preceding sermon, and then proceeds to the grand intention of his coming.

"There is not a sweeter name in heaven or

earth than that of a SAVIOUR. It is the source of all our peace and joy. The hymn sung by the angelic host contains nothing more nor less than the consolation comprised in that blessed name.

"'Glory to God in the highest.' Now has that most delightful period arrived, when God and his adorable attributes and perfections shall be manifested and glorified. The Saviour is born to vindicate the glory of the wisdom, holiness, veracity, and love of his heavenly father, and at the same time to lay a solid foundation for the salvation of sinners. He is made obedient to the divine law, undertakes to endure its curse, and thus rescues mankind, and glorifies God. This was absolutely necessary. The knowledge of the mercy of God, without a deep impression of his holiness and justice, does not improve us, but rather tempts men to go on presumptuously in a course of sin. Look around you, my friends, and consider the reason of that general corruption which prevails amongst mankind, and you will find that the abuse of the divine mercy is one of its principal causes. Whereas, if we would devoutly consider the gospel, we should be convinced, that it displays at once the mercy, the holiness, and the justice of the Almighty.

"By this we perceive the divinity of the gospel. It does not soothe us vainly, but if used impartially it cures us effectually. Consider it

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always in this light, and let the evidence of the divine holiness and justice, as displayed in the humiliation and sufferings of Jesus Christ, awaken us all to true repentance. O let us not trifle with sin, but hate, resist, and oppose it, and that earnestly. Whoever does not abhor every sin, dishonours God, rejects his salvation, and frustrates the intention of the Redeemer's birth, turns his medicine into poison, and deprives himself of all the blessings which Jesus came to purchase. But every one who wishes to glorify God upon earth, will look upon the revelation of his glory in the nativity of Christ, as a source of the purest joy.

"The second part of the angelic hymn, and consequently the second blessing of our Saviour's coming, is 'Peace on earth.' Peace consists in the disposition of the Almighty to forget the injuries done to his law, and to love, protect, and bless sinners. The meaning, therefore, of the angelic anthem is this. Now is that happy time come, when a solid foundation of peace between God and men shall be laid. Peace which sinners had lost, shall and will be restored by that divine Saviour who has already begun to procure it. Rejoice in it, all ye who feel and lament your sinfulness, and fear lest a righteous God should frown at you eternally. Behold and rejoice. It is Jesus who came from heaven to restore peace

to you. Give not way, therefore, to despondency or anxiety. These glad tidings were published that you might enjoy peace. Do not think that you honour your Saviour by anxious fear. You honour him, *indeed*, by trusting and reposing in him confidently. CHAP. XIII.

"But let me speak a word to those who desire peace, but look for it from their own virtues. Hear the divine gospel proclaimed from heaven. 'Peace on earth,' and that through the Redeemer. He has made peace, he offers, he bestows that blessing. Do you reject this 'Prince of peace?' Then be assured, you will never find it, either in time or eternity. Trust, therefore, no longer in yourselves, or your imperfect works; but come to the divine Saviour for pardon and peace. Remember the Jews of old, who desired righteousness and peace, but would not accept them at the feet of Christ, but as the reward of their own merit, and take warning from their unhappiness. The price by which peace was purchased was not your imperfect, but the absolutely perfect obedience and sufferings of Jesus Christ, your surety. Blessed will you be, if in poverty of spirit you seek it where alone it is to be found, namely, in Him. Thousands of real Christians have experienced it. O! try to have the happy experience in your own hearts.

"The third part of the angelic hymn is, 'Good

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will to, or in men.' For as the preceding clause declares the good will of God to us, this describes our good will both to God and one another. The meaning, I apprehend, is this. Now will men be rightly disposed towards God in consequence of the Redeemer, and of the love of God displayed in him. They will look upon God as their gracious Father, and will love, and honour, trust, and praise him. And being in that happy frame of mind, they will love one another also, because God has loved them. This is the true spring of all godliness, justice, charity, and goodness. In and through Jesus Christ, and his redemption, the love of God and his infinite mercy to sinners are so clearly revealed, that every one who receives the glorious light of it into his heart, cannot but be made unspeakably happy by it; and as soon as man knows and tastes the lovingkindness of God to him, he begins to love him in return. The conclusion which St. John draws, is very natural. 'We love him because he first loved us.' 'All that enmity which is naturally in our heart to God, arises particularly from want of true and saving knowledge of his love to us. Could the most wicked man be brought to a lively perception of that divine love of God towards him, he would lay aside his enmity, adore God, and love him with all his heart. Could the heart of the most sensual man be filled with

divine peace, so as even for a few moments to enjoy it, he would readily forsake, and disdainfully reject, all the temptations that were offered to draw him away from that sweet sense of the love of God. O let us all seek that good will towards our divine Benefactor. Let us meditate upon his infinite love. Let us pray for his enlightening Spirit, and for a comfortable sense of his lovingkindness to us, and so let us spend this feast, that we may rejoice in it after a godly manner. Let ours be Christian, not worldly joy. Rejoicing in Jesus will embitter to us all sensual and sinful mirth. For carnal joy and merriment dishonour God, and bring scandal upon that holy religion which we profess, and is, therefore, a high abuse of the glorious gospel of Jesus.

" And as rejoicing in the benefits of the nativity of our Saviour will incline us to have a good will towards God, so will it render us kind and charitable to our neighbour. Did the Son of God love you so as to become poor for your sake? How should this incline your heart to love your poor neighbour, and to make him a partaker of your joy!

" In short, the joy which arises from the redemption of Jesus, will make us truly a good, holy, and charitable people; it will make us happy, and all who live with us. May the

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The third relic of Swartz's preaching, is on Luke xiv. 16—24; being the Gospel for the second Sunday after Trinity.

" The Gospel of this day," he observes, " contains a parable which our blessed Saviour delivered in a Pharisee's house, to which he had been invited. His all-piercing eye immediately perceived the pride of the guests, and he warned them against it by powerful motives. And observing how the host of that entertainment aimed at something which spoiled his charity, he advised him to be kind and charitable to the poor, because they being unable to reward him here, he might certainly expect a reward at the resurrection of the just. This occasioned a reflection on the part of one of the guests, by which he seemed to express his desire of spiritual and heavenly blessedness. Our Saviour replied by the following parable; in which he shows, that it is entirely the fault of mankind, if they are not happy; because God has done all that is necessary to make them so. He has prepared a feast for them, and has invited them repeatedly and earnestly to partake of it.

" There are three great points to be considered

in this parable. The wonderful grace of God prepared and offered to mankind; their astonishing indifference, and even contempt of that grace; and the effect of their neglect of it. CHAP. XIII.

" Our Saviour represents the wonderful mercy of God to mankind, under the agreeable image of a supper. ' A certain man made a great supper, and bade many.' In another similar parable, he calls that man a king, and means God himself. A supper, a great supper he has prepared, a feast of the choicest blessings. For whether we consider the persons for whom it was prepared, the manner of the preparation, or the blessings which it provides, it may justly be called a great supper.

" The persons for whom it was prepared, were far, very far from deserving it; sinful and apostate creatures, who had lost their original righteousness, and were obnoxious to divine punishment. This aggrandises the mercy of God, and renders it truly adorable.

" The method by which that great feast was prepared, speaks no less his infinite lovingkindness. Our Saviour has revealed it in the clearest manner, when he instituted the Lord's Supper. " This is the new testament in my blood.' By his bitter suffering and death, the atonement was made, and all its inestimable blessings purchased. This teaches us how dear a price was paid by the

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Son of God for our recovery and salvation. Here the love of God the Father and of Jesus Christ shines in its divinest lustre. In such a degree God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son. 'He spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all.'

"But what are the blessings represented by our Saviour, under the figure of a great supper? They are the same which St. Paul calls the 'kingdom of God,' viz. 'righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;' or, as he elsewhere describes them, (1 Cor. i. 30,) 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.'

"By our fall into sin, we are become blind as to divine things. We know not the way to peace and happiness. But Jesus is 'the light of the world, and whoso followeth him, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.'

"The word of God declares that there is no one by nature truly righteous. But God in mercy sent his Son to procure for us that spotless righteousness, which we all need. Of this our Saviour speaks at large, (John vi.,) where he says, that 'his flesh,' given for the atonement of our sins, 'is meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed.' Moreover, God is holy; and this is his will, even our sanctification. All nations, and even heathens, agree in this. But the word of God alone shows the infallible way in which we may attain

it. It is Jesus Christ who has not only made known to us the holy will of his heavenly Father, by his divine doctrine and example, but has purchased for us strength to fulfil it—that inexpressibly great gift of the Holy Spirit, to rectify and reform our hearts and lives. This is a glorious privilege, which Scripture frequently inculcates, to our unspeakable comfort. So is Jesus our sanctification—the author of all true holiness. Without him, we can do nothing,—nothing spiritually good and acceptable before God.

" Further, we are but too well convinced that we are surrounded by numerous evils, bodily and spiritual. We feel them, we groan under them, and desire deliverance and redemption from them. But being unable to help ourselves, we are all brought to that weighty question, 'Who shall deliver us?' No man, no angel is able to do it. But, behold, Jesus is 'made unto us redemption,' the author and finisher of our deliverance.

" All these, and many more blessings, are prepared for us through Jesus Christ; not only that we may know and admire, but that we may enjoy and rejoice in them. This is the reason why they are shadowed forth under the provisions of a supper, and that a great one.

"This is not only prepared, but we are invited to partake of it. From the very time of man's fall, the sweet promise of a Redeemer comforted

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our first parents in their misery; and, by the sacrifices which they were taught to offer, they were invited to a participation of the blessing of reconciliation, to be afterwards effected, and enjoyed by penitent believers.

"During the period of the Old Testament, the Almighty preached forgiveness to sinners by his prophets. Even that very persuasive representation of a feast or supper, which he would prepare for his people, we find mentioned in the 25th chapter of Isaiah; and in the 55th, is the most gracious invitation to accept the promised blessings, 'without money and without price.'

"In the New Testament, this invitation is still more clearly and strongly expressed. So Peter invited the Jewish nation, and all those who were present at the feast of Pentecost, to receive remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost; and so St. Paul, as the ambassador of Christ, invited all to whom he preached to 'be reconciled unto God;' to accept of pardon and peace, of strength and glory.

"These are convincing proofs of the grace of God towards mankind. Well might we exclaim, in the words of Moses, 'How doth the Lord love his people!' How has he endeavoured to rescue us from misery, and to put us into the joyful possession of the richest blessings! He has acted the part of a most tender father, in pro-

claiming mercy to those who had deserved his wrath. He has provided a sufficient remedy for those who were unable to help themselves. Truly, such rich and undeserved mercy should draw all our hearts to him, and fill our mouths with praise and thanksgiving. CHAP. XIII.

" But we find an astonishing indifference, nay, contempt of that divine grace. ' They all with one consent began to make excuse.' Deplorable blindness and stupidity, to prefer earthly and transitory things to eternal happiness and glory! The excuses they all made, showed their criminal attachment to the world. They alleged things which in themselves are not sinful. They knew so much of morality as to despise them. But they suffered themselves to be drawn away by things lawful in their nature. Where, then, lies the fault? Not in the objects themselves, but in overvaluing and preferring them to the grace of God in Jesus Christ. They were so blinded by the love of worldly things, that they did not see the excellence and glory of the feast to which they were invited. St. Paul says, ' The God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ which is the image of God, should shine unto them.' They could not value the blessings of the kingdom of God. To have a reconciled God, a delightful sense of the par-

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don of sin, to enjoy the blessedness of the children of God, to be guided by his Spirit, and to partake of his favour, was not so dear to them, as their of worldly possessions, and the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.

"And by preferring these things to the grace of God, how highly did they dishonour him, who had prepared for them such inestimable blessings! Nay, they treated the invitation to that divine feast as a thing which, if accepted, would injure them in their possessions and pleasures, and therefore they desired to be excused. They thought that they could be as happy without it; there was, as they imagined, no absolute necessity for coming to it. If they were diligent in their respective callings, and honest in their dealings with mankind, they might do as well as others who accepted it. And what is this, but the height of ingratitude and pride?

"This is a sad but true description of the conduct of the Jews of old, as we find it related in the Acts of the Apostles. But is it not also the lamentable behaviour of too many among Christians? Do they not too often prefer worldly, nay, unjust gain to the grace of God? Are not the pleasures of this world, and even such as are condemned in the word of God, the common impediment to true repentance and a lively application to Jesus and his grace? Nay, do not many

among Christians imagine, that though they are not clothed with the righteousness of Jesus, their own virtue will bring them to heaven? Is not this plainly contradicting God and his word? Let us hear what Scripture peremptorily affirms. (Heb. x. 28, 29.) 'He that despised Moses' law, died without mercy: of how much sorer punishment suppose ye shall he be thought worthy, who has trodden under foot the Son of God, and has counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and done despite unto the Spirit of grace?' CHAP. XIII.

"Let us finally consider the divine sentence passed on all those who refused this gracious invitation—The master of the house was angry: 'I say unto you, that none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.' This sounds, at first, as if the displeasure of the Almighty against the despisers of his grace was not very dreadful. But it is, in fact, fearful beyond expression. What! To have no share in the grace of God; never to taste his loving-kindness; to enjoy no pardon of sins; not to be numbered among the children of God; not to dwell with him; not to be received into glory—what is this but the 'fiery indignation' which shall devour all such presumptuous despisers?

"And, as our Saviour foretold, so we find it verified in the judgments of God, which came upon the Jews. Seventeen hundred years that

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nation has felt the dire effects of the anger of God, and feels it still. They preach to us in the strongest manner, and warn us not to be guilty of the same sin of rejecting the grace of God, lest we become partakers of the same judgments. 'Behold the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell,' and rejected the grace of God, 'severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.'

"Let us then examine our hearts, and try how we stand affected to that wonderful grace of God in Jesus Christ, and his bountiful invitation to come to his great supper. We are invited to it as well as the Jews. We need it as much as they. 'Come, for all is prepared,'—'Be ye reconciled unto God,'—is the persuasive voice of the gospel. O that we all might hearken to that winning voice! O that we might come, even to-day! Who knows whether grace will be offered to-morrow? 'To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.'

"Happy, thrice happy, are all those who, being sensible of the infinite mercy of God, and their absolute need of it, resolve manfully to reject every thing that would hinder them from coming to that heavenly feast. They enjoy here what all the world cannot bestow, and hereafter the fruition of the blessing will be final and complete.

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"Let us then come sincerely, with a true and earnest desire after reconciliation with God. Disdain whatever would obstruct the way, and keep you back from coming unto Christ. 'Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.' To love the world, is to suffer it to come into competition with God, and is the very height of ingratitude. But above all, let us come humbly acknowledging that we are undone, except we have a share in Jesus Christ,—in his sacrifice, atonement, righteousness, and blessing. He is 'the way, the truth, and the life. No man cometh unto the Father but by Him.' Paul, though one of the greatest apostles, humbly acknowledged his utmost need of Christ, (Phil. iii.) 'not having,' he says, 'mine own righteousness'—And the consideration of his own poverty, together with the riches of the grace of God, made him exclaim, 'Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ!' He is my greatest gain. If I have Him, I have every thing: pardon, peace, joy, reconciliation with God, eternal life. Happy was Paul in his choice, and happy shall we be if we follow him. May the spirit of Jesus incline our hearts to con-

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sider the things which belong to our peace! Amen."

The fourth of these valuable remains of Swartz is from the beautiful conclusion of the 13th chapter of St. Paul's 1st Epistle to the Corinthians. "And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity."

"In this memorable passage," he observes, "the apostle sums up the principal parts of real Christianity; and gives a full answer to that momentous question, 'What must we do to be saved?' Three things are necessary.

"I. The first is faith, by which we understand an assent to all that is revealed by God in the holy Scriptures. But as the doctrine of a Redeemer is the main point of divine revelation, by faith we are principally to understand the assent which we give to the testimony of Scripture concerning a Saviour, and, consequently, dependence on him for every blessing."

He next proceeds to give a view of the natural condition of mankind, similar to that which occurs in the preceding sermons, as blind with respect to spiritual things, averse to what is good, and "inclined towards that which is evil." In respect of their affections of love, fear, hope—all gone

astray; without strength to rise and do the will of God; dead in trespasses and sins; condemned by the divine law, which all have transgressed; 'without comfort and without hope.' CHAP. XIII.

"Who shall rescue such wretched, forlorn sinners? No creature in heaven or earth; none but Jesus the Son of God." His divine nature, his spotless purity, perfect obedience, and painful and ignominious death upon the cross, are then declared to be the only foundation of all spiritual and heavenly blessings: "of which great salvation, the glorious God has given assurance unto all men, by raising him from the dead, placing him at his own right hand, and giving him all power in heaven and earth.

"But how," he continues, "a convinced sinner may say, shall I become a partaker of that divine salvation? The apostle replies, By faith: 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' Acknowledge thy sinfulness and corruption before Jesus Christ with the deepest humility. Turn away thine eyes from all creatures, for they cannot save thee. Turn unto him who has borne thy sins, and has made a full atonement for them all; entreat him to have mercy on thee, to wash thee in his blood, to forgive thee all thy sins. Give thyself up to him; receive him as thy prophet, to teach thee; as thy high priest, to atone for thee; as thy king, to rule

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and govern thee. If thou humblest thyself in such a manner, despairing of thine own strength, and that of other creatures, and solely depending on Jesus for every blessing, then thou art a believer. How weighty a thing it is to believe; how humble do we become; how low do all creatures appear; how great, how glorious does Jesus appear in the eyes of a believer!

"Here let us pause, and ask ourselves, Do we believe in Jesus Christ? A question of the utmost importance. O let your conscience answer it sincerely. Have you ever been convinced of your sinful and lost condition, so as to see the necessity of a Redeemer? A proud man, who does not feel his blindness, and poverty, and corruption, may occasionally repeat the creed, but still he cannot be styled a true believer. Have you ever fled for refuge unto Jesus, and earnestly entreated him to pardon your sins, and to make you a sharer in the blessings of his salvation? Is there a sacred hunger and thirst in your heart after Jesus and his righteousness? Has your faith made you free from your idolatrous attachment to the creature, and from the love of the world? If it has, then are you truly believing. By this faith, a man is made truly happy. His sins, as the only cause of his uneasiness, being forgiven, he has peace with God, and access to the throne of grace.

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"II. But some may be apt to say, 'We have heard what has been said of faith, of its foundation and nature, and of the happiness annexed to it. Where, however, are these happy people? Even the best Christians cannot help complaining; and that argues no great happiness."

"In order to remove this doubt about happiness, the apostle asserted the second principle which animates a true Christian, and that is hope. This consists in a well-grounded expectation of future blessings, and is highly necessary to every Christian, to cheer him in his way to heaven. For it cannot be denied that this life is, in many respects, full of misery, full of evil; for deliverance from which we pray in the Lord's Prayer. Even the best of Christians is conscious of much ignorance, and blindness of understanding. 'We know,' says the apostle, 'but in part.' Our knowledge, as to its clearness, distinctness, and vividness, is very imperfect. Our will, though mended in some degree, is still too stubborn, and not so subject to the law of God as we could wish. Our desires, hopes, fears, griefs, are not so well rectified as they ought to be. Our bodies are subject to pain, sickness, death, and the grave; besides what we suffer from the folly and wickedness of our fellow-creatures. The apostle Paul had a good share, particularly in sufferings from wicked men.

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"Is all this true? may the worldly man say—What becomes, then, of your glorying and happiness?

"The Christian still glories, notwithstanding all these things; because he has a lively hope of a consummate happiness prepared for him by his gracious Redeemer, and made lively in his heart by the Holy Ghost. So the apostle teaches us in the 5th chapter of his Epistle to the Romans. 'Hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us;' and Rom. xv. 3. 'Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that you may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost.'

"Is the Christian afflicted with poverty? He knows that he shall possess eternal riches, laid up for him in heaven. Does he suffer reproach from an ungodly world? He does not repine. For besides the benefits he reaps from such treatment, he knows that Jesus Christ will shortly clear and vindicate his character, not in the eyes of a few, but in the sight of men and angels. Does he suffer pain? He is content, being convinced that his 'vile body shall ere long be made like unto the glorious body' of his Saviour. Nay, at last, when death approaches, he exercises his hope by looking forward to eternal life. In short, there is no affliction which can deprive him of his hope,

which he has conceived by believing in Jesus Christ.

"This hope which a Christian maintains in his heart, is not an idle speculation, but an active principle, from which flow many of his brightest actions,—his patience under all sorts of suffering; (Heb. xi.;) his contentment with all the wise dealings of his heavenly Father; his care not to use unlawful means to help himself in afflicting circumstances; his constancy in doing the will of God, in spite of all the ingratitude he experiences from an evil world; for, what he does, he does for the sake of God, who will reward him abundantly, and that very soon.

"Here let me ask you again, have *you* such a hope of eternal blessedness? The greater part of us will be ready to say, 'To be sure! We all hope to be happy!' But let me ask you seriously, what is the groundwork of your hope? Hope is the result of faith in Jesus. Besides, what is the effect of your hope? The apostle St. John characterises the true hope of a christian very accurately, when he says, 'Every one that hath this hope in him,' viz. of seeing God, 'purifieth himself, even as he is pure.' So that, if a man does not purify himself, and become more and more like unto God, he has no solid hope, however he may flatter himself, of seeing him hereafter 'as he is.'

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"III. Let us now represent a person truly believing in Jesus, and united to him, washed from his sins, strengthened by his Spirit, and cheered with a hope of an unspeakably glorious crown hereafter. Being endowed with such a precious faith and lively hope, what will he do? What will be the effect of such a faith and hope? Love towards God and all men. A person that is blessed with such faith and hope, cannot but love God and all mankind, and that from the bottom of his heart. He looks upon God as his Father, who has loved him in an unspeakable manner; who sent his only begotten Son into the world for his eternal happiness; who has called him out of darkness into marvellous light; who has blessed him with pardon, peace, and hope; and this heartily inclines him to love him sincerely and ardently. The conclusion which St. John draws from the love of God towards us is very natural. 'We love him, because he first loved us.' Such a Christian will esteem and venerate, adore and praise God, keep his commandments, honour his name, his sabbath-day, his word. Love will teach him all this. His soul and body he will present as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, which will be his reasonable service. Such an one will not be conformed to this world, but transformed by the renewing of his mind, that he may prove what is

that good and acceptable and perfect will of God. Whether he eats or drinks, or whatsoever he does, he will endeavour to do it to the glory of God. CHAP. XIII.

"Let us seriously examine our hearts and lives, whether we have loved God in such a manner. Have we venerated him and his divine name above all? Have we delighted in him so as to renounce sinful pleasures? Have we endeavoured to glorify God, or to promote the honour of his name among those with whom we live? Have we worshipped him, privately and publicly, in such a manner as to inspire others with devotion? Have we kept the Lord's day in a holy manner?

"And as he loves God, so he will likewise love his neighbour; and that not only externally, but from his heart. The sense of the love of God will be to him instead of a thousand commandments. He will love the souls of his fellow-creatures; the ignorant he will instruct by word and example; the wicked he will endeavour to convert, and to lead them into the path of piety; the poor and afflicted he will assist, nourish, and comfort, according to the ability which God hath given him. He will take care not to offend or injure his neighbour, either in his fortune or his name. So that backbiting, envy, strife, malice, will be far from him; and all this will flow from a principle of faith and hope.

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"What a happiness it would be if all Christians were actuated by such love or desire of making others happy here and hereafter!

"Let me, therefore, ask you seriously, before that God who knows your heart and ways, Do you love your neighbour sincerely? Is it the bent of your lives, not only to honour your God, but likewise to make your fellow-creatures happy? Have you showed a tender regard to their eternal welfare? You see thousands before your eyes sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. Have you endeavoured, at least by your example, to convince them of the purity and excellence of your religion? Have you discouraged vice and wickedness, or have you promoted it, and so laid a stumbling-block before your ignorant and careless fellow-creatures? Have you assisted the poor and needy in their distressful circumstances, or have you been regardless of their misery?

"Let us examine our hearts seriously, and whatsoever we find in our behaviour to have been against the will of God, let us immediately repent of it, and beg forgiveness in the name of Jesus Christ. Cultivate these three principles,—faith, hope, and love; and you will glorify God, enjoy true happiness, and edify your fellow-creatures; which God grant!"

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Such are the pulpit remains of this apostolic and persuasive preacher. They are, like every thing connected with his character, marked by the most perfect simplicity; but, at the same time, by an energy of thought, and frequently by a vigour of expression, which prove at once the sincerity and the efficacy of his religion. One grand subject pervades his sermons, as it formed the prevailing theme of his correspondence and his ministerial labours—the gospel of Christ, as the only and all-sufficient remedy for the guilt and misery of fallen man; the love of God, in sending his Son to save us; the love of Christ, in dying for us; pardon and peace through faith in the atoning blood of the cross, that faith "working by love" to God and man, purifying the heart, and overcoming the world; producing, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, true happiness even here, and animating the Christian with a lively and joyful hope of perfect and eternal blessedness hereafter. Such was the cheering, intelligible, and scriptural view which Swartz invariably presented of Christian doctrine. The incidental references to his ministerial instructions, which occur in his letters and journals, show how diligently he laboured in filling up this outline with the details of principle and precept, and how wisely he adapted his exhortations to the peculiar character and condition of his hearers.

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There is one circumstance relative to his discourses, which is particularly deserving of attention. This is the sound judgment and practical tendency by which they are distinguished. Nothing visionary, doubtful, or enthusiastic, is to be traced in any part of them. The purest evangelical truths, and the most spiritual and exalted principles, are combined with the most forcible appeals to the conscience and the heart; and while the mercies of redemption are inculcated, as the exclusive ground of acceptance with God, and the most prevailing motive to obedience, the tenor of a holy life is insisted upon as the only satisfactory evidence of a state of salvation.

These were the leading features of his teaching: and, confirmed and illustrated as they were by his own eminent and consistent example, we cannot be surprised that they should be followed by the most striking and beneficial results, not only on the professed Christians, but on the various classes of idolaters and unbelievers, who surrounded him and listened to his instructions.

The very few of his surviving friends who remember Swartz in the pulpit, represent his appearance and manner as remarkably resembling the preceding specimens of his style—simple and unaffected, but energetic and impressive; using, like the apostle to the Gentiles, "great

plainness of speech," but speaking also like him, "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power," and "by manifestation of the truth commending himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God;" while equally with the great apostle, "speaking the truth in love," out of the fulness of a heart penetrated by the mercies of redemption, and habitually glowing with Christian kindness, he succeeded in conciliating the confidence and affection of his hearers, and vindicated his claim to the character of true wisdom, by winning many souls to the faith and hope of the gospel.

CHAPTER XIV.

Introduction and progress of Protestant Christianity in Tinnevelly—Journey to Ramauadapuram and Palamcotta—Letter to a friend of Mr. Chambers—Provincial Schools—Testimony to the usefulness and disinterestedness of Swartz—Communication to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—Letters to Mrs. Duffin and Mrs. Chambers; a second to Mr. Chambers' friend—Retrospect of the year 1786—Wretched state of the Rajah and kingdom of Tanjore—Committee of inspection for the affairs of that country appointed by Sir Archibald Campbell, of which Swartz is requested to become a member—Their proceedings—Beneficial influence of Swartz with the people of Tanjore—The Madras Government expresses its high sense of the value of his services—Female Orphan School, established by Lady Campbell—Swartz requests the Society to receive his young friend Mr. J. Kohlhoff as one of their missionaries.

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It is uncertain at what period the district of Tinnevelly in the south of the Peninsula was first visited by the Protestant missionaries. The Roman Catholics had long been numerous, and it is not improbable that some of the early converts at Tranquebar may have carried thither the knowledge of

purer evangelical truth. The first notice of this part of the country in the journals of Swartz, occurs in the year 1771, and is as follows :—

"At Palamcotta, a fort and one of the chief towns of Tinnevelly, about two hundred miles from Trichinopoly, there resides a Christian of our congregation, Schavrimuttu, who having been instructed, reads the word of God to the resident Romish and heathens. And an English sergeant, whose wife is a member of our congregation, has in a manner taken up the cause. A young heathen accountant had heard the truth with satisfaction. He was once here, (at Trichinopoly,) listened to all that was represented from the word of God in silence, and promised to place himself under further instruction. The sergeant made him learn the five principal articles of the catechism, and then baptized him. It grieved us that he should have baptized the young man before he had attained a distinct knowledge of Christianity. Besides, such an inconsiderate step might prove injurious both to the heathens and Roman Catholics. May God mercifully avert all evil!"

A few years after the time at which the circumstances thus related took place, Mr. Swartz visited the neighbourhood of Palamcotta, when the widow of a Brahmin applied to him to be

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baptized; but as she was then living with an English officer, he told her that while she continued that illicit connexion, he could not comply with her request. It appears, however, that the officer had privately promised to marry her; and in the mean time, he was instructing her in the English language, and even in the principles of Christianity. After his death, she renewed her application to Swartz, and as her conduct was then perfectly correct, he baptized her by the name of Clorinda. She continued to reside in the south of India; but at the conclusion of the late war, she and two Roman Catholic Christians from the same quarter came to Tanjore. One of these persons had obtained a copy of the New Testament, and of the Ecclesiastical History published by the missionaries at Tranquebar,[1] which he read with so much effect, that he was not only himself convinced of the errors of the church of Rome, but testified against them so strongly that many around him were much impressed by his representations. He and his fellow-traveller now visited Mr. Swartz, and entreated that a missionary or native assistant might come and teach them more perfectly. He accordingly sent one of his catechists to Palamcotta, to instruct the rising congregation in that neighbourhood. The zealous female convert just mentioned,

[1] See Introductory Sketch, vol. i. p. 42.

with the assistance of one or two English gentlemen, built a small but neat church at that place; and from this period the attention of Swartz was anxiously directed to a quarter in which the congregations of Christians have since become so numerous and so prosperous.

In the letter to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, which communicates some of the preceding particulars, dated February 26, 1785, he mentions that his Majesty's 48th regiment being then stationed at Tanjore, he performed divine service before them every Sunday. He adds, that a number of that regiment had entreated him to permit them to attend prayers with him, to which he had readily consented; so that every evening about one hundred persons met in the church, where a hymn was sung, a chapter of the New Testament read, and a portion of it expounded; after which they concluded with a prayer.

In another letter, dated in September of the same year, and communicated to the Society by the Rev. Mr. Pasche, Swartz writes, that he was just returned from an official journey, which had occupied him between two and three months. The younger Kohlhoff had supplied his place during his absence, both in the English and Tamulian congregations, and he expresses his grateful sense of the divine protection and bless-

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ing which he on his travels, and Mr. Kohlhoff at Tanjore, had experienced. He first proceeded to Ramanadapuram, for the purpose of instituting the English provincial school there; which he accomplished. The beginning was made with ten young persons. The reigning prince and his minister sent their children to the school, of which Mr. Wheatley from Tanjore, was appointed master. At this place, according to his invariable practice, he embraced the opportunity of preaching the gospel to all descriptions of persons. From thence, after touching at Tutukurin, and preaching to the Dutch there, on St. Mark viii. 36, he went to Palamcotta; staid there three weeks, preached twice, sometimes three times a day, explained the principal doctrines of Christianity, and administered the sacrament to eighty persons. He found the state of this new congregation in many respects to his satisfaction, while in others, he frankly acknowledged, it occasioned him concern. "But this," he justly observes, "is no more than what are usually united together, wheat and chaff."

It was during this journey that he addressed the following interesting and instructive letter to an intimate friend and connexion of Mr. Chambers, then in the civil service of Bengal, and distinguished during a long and honourable life in

India and in England, not less by his eminent talents and acquirements as a leading member of the East Indian government, than by his elevated and consistent character as a Christian. It appears that he was at this time just entering upon a religious course; and nothing could be better calculated to confirm and encourage him than this admirable letter.

"Ramanadapuram, July 20, 1785.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your very kind letter I received two months ago, and should have answered it sooner, had not some circumstances prevented it.

"Your first awakening was a most agreeable and heart-reviving transaction of divine Providence. So kind is God, even when he chastiseth. I believe there are very few in heaven, but owe their conversion or their continuance in that state to some stroke or other. Blessed be God for all his mercies which he has bestowed on us! Nay, throughout all eternity we shall praise him for all the wonders he has done towards us.

"Even in respect of temporal affairs, your conversion has been, as I observe, beneficial to you; and so would every one experience it, if the trial were fairly made. How much is squandered away in what is called fashionable living, to no purpose, or rather to the worst! Health, strength,

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conscience, and the sweetest sense of the favour of God are lost—for what? Though we are not to serve God for the sake of temporal advantages, we shall find that true unfeigned 'godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.' The people of the world lose both. Their tumultuous mirth does not deserve the name of joy, and is always closely attended and embittered by unspeakable disquietude and anxiety, which they must feel as soon as they begin to reflect. May God strengthen and confirm you by his blessed Spirit, that the good work which he has begun in you, may be carried on uninterruptedly, till you can say at last, 'It is done—Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,' and so 'enter into the joy of your Lord!'

"Let us daily grow more and more fervent in prayer. With prayer we begin to be Christians. By prayer we grow stronger, and continue in the narrow road, and at last, praying, we end our course.

"All that we are to pray for, we find in that excellent prayer taught us by our Lord, in which Christianity is regularly delineated or explained, just as it ought to be from the beginning to the end.

"In the first petition we in fact entreat God to turn away our hearts from all vain names, (call them honour, riches, pleasure, or what else

you please,) because they all together cannot make us happy. To look upon them as the source of our happiness is idolatry. We entreat God to enlighten our hearts, so that we may know, esteem, venerate, fear, love, and praise his name. This is the truest beginning of our conversion, when all things and their names become little, and the glorious name of God becomes great and venerable to us.

"The second blessing which we need is the kingdom of God, as it is restored to us by Jesus Christ, containing 'righteousness' to cover all our sins; 'peace,' or a sense of the favour of God, who is now our Father, and we his children; and 'joy in the Holy Ghost.' 'Thy kingdom, O Father, come,' that we may be no longer separated from thee, as we deserved, but that we may be reunited unto thee, that there may be a happy nnion between thee and us, as there is between a kind prince and obedient subjects. And is not this true faith in Jesus, which places us again in the kingdom of God our Father?

"Being turned to God and his name, and being made the children of the kingdom of God by faith in Jesus Christ, we crave the third blessing, namely, filial obedience. Having received the two former blessings, we are now willing, and by the Spirit of God strengthened, to renounce and to overcome our own will, (that

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stubborn thing,) the will of the world, though never so fashionable, and the will of the devil. We now learn daily that most difficult but salutary lesson,—'Not my will, but thine be done.'

"Having thus obtained mercy, we are regenerated and born again. What do we need more? Having begun well by the grace of God, let us be 'strong in the Lord;' let us take care not to fall back, but to be constant. To this purpose our compassionate Saviour has taught us to pray,

"1. For our daily bread—to moderate our desires after the things of this world. Godliness and contentment must go together. A very strict discipline is necessary lest the cares of this world enter in again, and choke the good seed.

"2. Though we have reason to rejoice in the Lord, and in the possession and enjoyment of all his mercies, yet we have little or no reason at all to boast and to be proud. Therefore he has directed us to come daily before the throne of grace, deeply humbling ourselves on account of our daily faults, and praying, 'Forgive us our trespasses.' We confess and bewail them, and crave pardon. This humility must remain in us daily.

"3. Being turned to the name of God; being received as his children for the sake of Jesus; being willing to obey the will of God, we are happy, and free from all condemnation. But as

long as we sojourn here in this world, we are not free from trials. Let us, therefore, daily watch and pray lest we enter and sink into temptation. Let us entreat God not to forsake but to strengthen us, that we may, by his grace, be able to overcome all temptations.

"4. Being united to Christ, and consequently being the children of God, we are happy; but this happiness, though very great, is not yet complete. Here is a mixture. Here are knowledge and ignorance, holiness and many faults, peace and uneasiness, health and sickness, joy and grief, together. But we are to receive a complete happiness. In the midst of all calamities and tribulations, be hope our cordial! Let us daily come before the throne of mercy, entreating God to deliver us entirely from all ignorance, from all sin, from all pain and grief; and to receive us into his glorious kingdom, where we shall weep no more—where we shall rejoice for ever and ever; where our prayers and supplications shall be turned into thanksgivings. This hope, if lively, will refresh us.

"There, my dear Mr. ——, I hope to see you, and to sing with you the song of the Lamb. There we will relate one to another all the wonders of mercy which Jesus has wrought towards our restoration.

"Be this our aim—and may our hearts (ah, our slippery hearts!) never swerve from the path

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to that heavenly Canaan! May we never murmur or lust after the things which we have once renounced! May we be faithful unto death, and so receive the crown of life! Remember me likewise when you come before the throne of mercy, that my approaching age may not be unfruitful, but blessed.

"You and your family are dear to me, because clothed and adorned with the righteousness of Jesus. Peace be to you, and to all that live with you. May they all find mercy on that great day. May they all be numbered with those that shall stand at the right hand of our God!

"I am at present at Ramanad in the Marawar country, where I intend to erect an English school. All seems to be ready. Next Monday we hope to make the beginning. May God bless it! Our intention is to have such schools in several provinces, if God grant peace to this country. The harvest is great, but few are the labourers. Well, let us pray to the Lord of the harvest. If amongst Europeans there was any real piety, what a blessing would come over the whole country! But they refuse to go into God's vineyard—may God awaken them!

"Wishing you health and peace of mind,

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"The kind charity which you intended for the relief of the poor shall be faithfully applied. In their name I thank you. I have enclosed a few lines to my old and sincere friend, Mr. Obeck. He lived once in one of my chambers.[1] I loved him much, and shall love him till we see one another in a world free from sin and grief."

The sober, scriptural, yet elevated piety, and the genuine Christian affection which breathe throughout the preceding letter, display the character of Swartz in a most favourable point of view, and sufficiently reveal the sources of his extraordinary influence and usefulness in India. Any thing more truly apostolic can scarcely be imagined. The following letter written shortly afterwards to a gentleman whom he was anxious to persuade to adopt religious habits, equally discovers his wisdom and faithfulness as a Christian monitor.

"Tanjore, Sept. 28, 1785.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am happy to hear that you will not come by yourself. You know the usual consequences attending a bachelor's life. But being now in a

[1] This circumstance is alluded to by Dr. Buchanan, in a letter to a friend, with the interesting addition that he often concealed from that good man "his favoured seasons from on high."—*Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 274.

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lawful state, instituted by God himself, take care lest that state prove a snare. In itself it is lawful, and ordained by God for wise reasons. But you know that Adam resembled his Maker before he entered into that state. The husband must be filled with knowledge, wisdom, holiness, and all other divine graces: then will he be able to govern his family wisely to the glory of God. In such a gay place as Madras, where daily dissipations run away with all time and strength, it is doubly necessary to be upon your guard. Never forget to keep up family prayer in your house; make it a house of God, and it will be distinguished by divine blessings.

"At present people read all sorts of novels and other trash. If you wish to be happy, and to act wisely, I entreat you READ YOUR BIBLE with your consort. You will soon find the greatest advantage resulting from it.

"Make my best respects to Mrs. ——, and tell her that I heartily wish she may be like Sarah, Abraham's wife; like Hannah, Samuel's mother; and like those excellent females who were not ashamed to follow Jesus, even when he was crucified. My best wishes attend you and your family, being,

Dear Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

During his stay at Ramanadapuram, Swartz had an interview with the reigning prince, and met with a very kind reception. But on his return, he found all in terror and alarm, in consequence of a change of government. The nabob was about to repossess himself of that province, notwithstanding that during the late war he had invested the present prince as the rightful heir, and had caused him to be proclaimed sovereign of the country. Swartz laments in his letter to Mr. Pasche that such faithless and perfidious proceedings, which had nearly ruined the country, were still continued, and observes that this change might extend its influence to the new institution of the English provincial schools; so that he doubted whether they would receive proper support, or be abandoned.

About this time, the following testimony to his usefulness, and to the blessing which had attended his missionary labours, was addressed to the secretary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge by one of its lately elected members.

"I am happy," says this correspondent, "to be a member of a Society which professes to be animated by the noblest of all motives—the glory of God, and the eternal benefit of mankind. That these important ends may be answered by their efforts, must surely be the earnest prayer of every

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well wisher to the community; and as an encouragement to so laudable an undertaking, I have the pleasure to mention, from the personal knowledge of Mrs. ——'s family, that Mr. Swartz, the missionary at Trichinopoly, has been the happy instrument, under God, of making many, both of the military and of the natives, converts to true Christianity, not merely as an established mode of worship, but in the genuine spirit of the gospel of Christ; not only to bear the sign of the cross in baptism, but really to take it up, and become the true followers of their crucified Lord."[1]

In his annual letter to the Society, dated from Trichinopoly, January 16, 1786, Swartz gratefully acknowledges the perfect health which he and his fellow-labourers had enjoyed during the preceding year, and the uninterrupted performance of their important duties. He had come to Trichinopoly for the purpose of consulting with his friend and brother, Mr. Pohlé, upon points relating to the mission, and of visiting the congregations and schools. At this time, he informs the Society, that besides his young friend Mr. Kohlhoff, who was his willing assistant, and whom he intimated his wish of seeing established as his colleague, he maintained three catechists and one

[1] Abstract of Reports, p. 248.

schoolmaster at Tanjore, one catechist at Tripatore, and three at Palamcotta. The Tamul school at Tanjore then consisted of twenty-two children, who were daily instructed in Christian principles, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and some of them, at their own request, in the English language. Of the English school, Mr. Kohlhoff and his brother, and a young native, had the care. In this there were generally about forty boys and girls. Besides learning the English, they were exercised also in the Persian and Tamul languages. Most of these children being the offspring of poor soldiers, were educated gratis.

" In some of my last letters," he observes, " I have mentioned that an English school was established in Ramanadapuram, and that another has been proposed at Shevagenga. We even entertained lively hopes of seeing more of these schools in other places. But when the country was restored to the nabob, these pleasing expectations nearly vanished. The old system of oppression was resumed, and the country princes began to tremble. It does not belong to me," he modestly adds, " to write of politics; neither would I have mentioned the subject, had it not been so closely connected with the schools."

The congregation at Palamcotta had increased; and Swartz had lately sent there his catechist,

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Sattianaden, who had for many years sustained the character of a sincere Christian and an able teacher. The congregation was visited every year by one of the country priests from Tranquebar for the administration of the sacraments.

While thankfully acknowledging the past kindness of the Society, he was urgent, both in this and a subsequent letter for a fresh supply of books, not only for the native congregations and schools, but also for the soldiers in the garrison, many of whom were anxious for instruction; a request with which the Society, knowing how judiciously they would be distributed, cheerfully complied.

While thus adverting to the various charitable labours of this excellent man, it may not be irrelevant to observe, that for a considerable space of time, during the late war, he forbore, on account of the public distress, to draw the pay which was due to him as chaplain to the garrison. Mr. Hudleston, in communicating this circumstance to the government, observes, " Mr. Swartz makes no other use of money than to appropriate it to the purposes of charity and benevolence."

During his short stay at Trichinopoly, he wrote the following letter to Mrs. Duffin; the principal topic of which proves how well he could avail himself of incidental circumstances to illustrate and enforce religious truth.

"Trichinopoly, January 19, 1786.

"DEAR MADAM,

"A few days ago I came hither to visit my friend Mr. Pohlé. One afternoon I went with him to Warriore, to see your house and garden, where we have spent many a Saturday in a very agreeable manner. Coming near your house, Mr. Pohlé put me in mind of my shameful neglect, 'You have not,' said he, 'written a line to Mr. and Mrs. Duffin for above a year.' Hearing the number of months, for he counted them, I was truly struck with confusion. Though I have but few hours to spare, still I might have written some few lines. Well, pardon this neglect kindly. I have not written, but I have remembered you very often, wishing to spend some hours with you. I was very glad when your schoolmaster informed me, that Mr. Gerické had paid you a visit, for he is a sincere Christian, whom I have always much esteemed.

"When I came here, I thought to rejoice with Mr. Pohlé; but we soon experienced grief instead of joy. A battalion mutinied; went upon the rock, and threatened destruction, if they should not get their pay. These poor people had received none since August; consequently five months' pay was due to them, besides former arrears. It is truly melancholy to observe that nothing but fear will incline us to do justice to

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them. By these means all discipline is relaxed, the officers lose that respect which is due to their rank and station, and the sepoys become insolent. This has been the case, not only in war, but now in the time of peace. May God help us to consider the things which belong to our peace in all respects!

"In the world we have tribulation. This has been from the time mankind fell into sin, and will be so, till we enter into the peaceful mansions of the saints and angels in eternity. Having, then, little or no peace in the world, let us take care to have, maintain, and enjoy peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

"What an immense blessing is it to have peace with God! When we reflect on our miserable hearts, so prone to sin and iniquity, we might think that it was altogether impossible to possess that inestimable treasure. And no doubt, if it depended on our perfect obedience, we could not entertain a thought of enjoying it. But blessed be God, our peace and happiness stand on a better basis than that of our own merit.

"It is Jesus, the blessed Redeemer, who has made an atonement, a perfect atonement for our sins, and thereby laid the foundation for a complete reconciliation between us and God. Without this divine atonement we could not expect pardon and peace. God would not be to us a God of

grace, but rather 'a consuming fire.' What praises, then, are due to Jesus, the purchaser of our peace and happiness! The nearer we keep to him, the more we enjoy of that peace. The more we trust in ourselves, so much the more we shall be perplexed. Nothing keeps and preserves our minds so much as this peace. The thunder of the law may frighten, but it will never compose or strengthen our minds to obey God cheerfully.

"Let us, then, daily look out for pardon and peace: watching at the same time that we may follow its guidance—that so our reason, our will, and all our passions, (aye and our external senses too,) may be preserved in subjection, obedience, and the path of holiness.

"Remember me to Mr. Duffin, our beloved friend. Mr. Pohlé tells me that he has written to you, enclosing a Portuguese calendar.

"May, then, the peace of God in this year, and as long as we live, cheer, guide, and strengthen us all!

"I am always, dear Madam,

"Your faithful friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

In his next letter to the same highly esteemed correspondent, Mr. Swartz took occasion to communicate his view of the Christian Sabbath;

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which from his intimate knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and his eminently devout habits, well deserves the most serious attention.

"Tanjore, March 26th, 1786.

"DEAR MADAM,

"Your kind letter I received yesterday, and as my heart is warm, and cheered by the good news you have sent me, I will by no means delay to answer it.

"I rejoice with you, that it has pleased God to make your Sabbaths more satisfactory to you. Formerly you got now and then some showers of the divine benediction. Now you will enjoy it every Sunday.

"I need not tell you, that the institution of the Sabbath is altogether divine, and therefore holy and beneficial. It is a cheering proof of God's kindness to us. It was instituted before the fall, to preserve Adam and Eve in their wisdom, holiness, and justice—consequently to confirm them in that divine likeness, which God had granted them. By this you plainly perceive, that his intention was to preserve them in their purity and happiness. Adam was the teacher, Eve the disciple---both adored God every day, but particularly on the Sabbath. Happy couple!

"Was the celebration of the Sabbath necessary before the fall, how much more *now* after it, to

awaken the mind to a lively knowledge of God, to increase in knowledge, faith, love, and hope of everlasting life! No doubt we are to attend to all this every day; but particularly to set our mind to it on every Sabbath day.

"On that day we are to exclude worldly thoughts as much as possible, even those that are allowable on other days. The works of creation, redemption, and sanctification, ought to be our chief meditation. Likewise ought we also to exclude all worldly conversation, even that which is allowable on other days. It should turn upon the word and works of God. Prayer and edifying converse should be maintained on that day. Moreover, worldly actions (except those of necessity and mercy) should be excluded. To frequent the congregation of Christians should be a delight to us.

"Then may we expect a blessing from God. Moses uses those two words, 'God sanctified' that day, that is,[1] he appointed it to mankind to become holy, or persevere in holiness, and blessed it, that is, he appointed it as a day of blessing, to make them partakers of the best blessings—pardon of sin, peace of mind, and hope of future glory.

[1] Bishop Horsley's Exposition of these emphatic words is precisely similar to this of the venerable missionary.—*Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 216.

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"Was this God's intention in instituting that day? Then may we well sit down and weep over ourselves and our fellow creatures. How is this day profaned! Alas! alas!

"Some say, 'We can serve God in our closet.' No doubt we can and ought to do it. But this ought not to be an hindrance to our frequenting the public congregation. No sincere Christian will ever speak so. That excellent man, Lord Chief Justice Hale, in England, confessed that he had received particular blessings by attending public worship. Every Christian will confess the same. Nay, we are to look to others, particularly young people, to allure them to the adoration of God.

"May a gracious God bless your congregation! May he fill it with his glory, as often as you come together! My beloved friends, Mr. Toriano and Mr. Duffin, will receive a blessing from the Lord. Take care, my friends, not to do any thing by which your Christian work, which you perform on the Sabbath day, may become less esteemed. The vow of the Lord is upon you, and the world will look critically upon you.

"My spirit is with you, though I am afraid that my old body will hardly be there.

"My young friend, Mr. Kohlhoff, joins with me in his wishes for the prosperity of your Zion.

Mr. Toriano will look upon this as written to him. God bless you and yours. Amen!

"I am, and always shall be,

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

Within a few days of the date of the preceding letter, the pious missionary addressed a second to the distinguished relative of Mr. Chambers, already mentioned, which, like the first, abounds with the richest Christian wisdom and consolation.

"Tanjore, March 29th, 1786.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have received your favour of the 10th of October, and wonder that it did not reach me sooner. I have perused the account, which you have kindly given me, more than once, and shall read it again. Even your complaints are precious to me, as they are a proof that you feel your want, or your poverty; and you know that our Saviour has declared such to be blessed.

"When I have reflected upon my own deviations, (and they have been numerous, nay, innumerable,) I have had reason to attribute them to some secret pride. We confess, no doubt, that we are poor; that we have lost the glory of wisdom, holiness, and righteousness. Our confession is very orthodox; but, alas! our thoughts, wishes,

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aims, and whole conduct, are proofs that our confession is too often undermined.

"As true religion endeavours to humble us and exalt God; and as this is absolutely necessary to our real welfare; we plainly perceive that God, in all his transactions with us, aims at this double point, viz. that we may be, what we really are, mere nothings; that he may be acknowledged as the only source of grace, strength, and happiness.

"When I read your letter, I think I am reading the history of my own life. Our want of poverty of spirit, makes us put our confidence in our own (imagined) merit: at other times, it makes us indolent in prayer—sometimes presumptuous in venturing where we ought to be careful and vigilant. In short, it hinders us in faith, love, and hope.

"This, I am sure, every saint now in heaven will tell you hereafter, that our pride is our greatest enemy. Nay, sometimes we attempt to bring it down furiously: and even this is a specimen of our pride.

"The best, the surest way, therefore, is to look up to Jesus, and to cry to him, Help me, grant me that true poverty of spirit which I need.

"I remember to have read the story of a pious man complaining of his unsettled mind. The old Christian, to whom he discovered his whole mind,

answered him in the following manner: 'I perceive, Sir, that you do not pray.' The mourning Christian replied, 'Not pray? I fall on my knees oftentimes a day.' The old man said, 'I do not doubt that: but still I say, you do not pray; I mean, you do not converse with God and your Redeemer so intimately, so freely, so often, as if you and He were alone on earth. To converse so with God, in the midst of all our business, we need not be always on our knees.'

"In the same manner a friend once asked Mr. Francke (who built the famous Orphan House at Halle) how it came to pass, that he maintained so constant a peace of mind. Mr. Francke replied, 'By stirring up my mind a hundred times a day! Wherever I am, whatever I do, I say, Blessed Jesus, have I truly a share in thy redemption? Are my sins forgiven? Am I guided by thy Spirit? Thine I am. Wash me again and again. Strengthen me, &c. &c. By this constant converse with Jesus, I have enjoyed serenity of mind, and a settled peace in my soul.'

"Throw yourself upon Him, dear Sir, upon his mercy, atonement, grace, and Spirit. Do not look constantly upon your faults only. The sense of the love of God, and of Jesus, some true experience of ease, peace of mind, and a well grounded hope of a blessed eternity—all this, in some degree enjoyed, will give you more strength

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to deny the world, and the lusts of it, to take up the cross and to follow Christ, than all the thunders of the law. But as all this is not granted absolutely, but in the way of humble dependence upon God, therefore not only pray but *watch* earnestly, that you may not lose by dissipation, what you have obtained in the way of begging.

"Your whole letter is a clear evidence, that you hunger and thirst after righteousness; which by nature you have not, but which is purchased for you by your atoning High Priest. The promise which is given to such is quite animating; viz. 'They shall be filled, and satisfied; they shall not be left in a *painful* hunger and thirst.'

"This promise, be assured, Jesus will make good. It is, as if he said to you: *You* shall be filled. Wait humbly his hour. Knock at his door confidently. Entreat him to fulfil his promise: do it again and again. You will soon find that he is faithful; and so, instead of lamenting your dejected condition, you will rejoice in the God of your salvation.

"Then the former experience of darkness, and uncomfortable hours, will be of great advantage. You will take care not to lose your roll, as Mr. Bunyan's pilgrim says.

"I shall not wait for your answer; but now and then send you a line as I have leisure.

"Pray for us. We shall remember you and your family likewise. Peace be to you!

"I am, my dear Sir,

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The venerable missionary probably fulfilled his promise of occasionally writing to his eminent correspondent. The two letters which have been introduced are, however, all that remain; and after a few years, Mr. —— returned to this country. As Swartz rightly concluded, the religious impressions which he had received, were deep and permanent, and productive of the fruits of a truly Christian course. These excellent men were personally strangers, having never met in India; and both have long since entered into rest: but in that higher world to which they aspired upon earth, and to which the Saviour, whom they loved and served, surely conducted them, they have, doubtless, renewed and perfected their friendship, and are recounting, to adopt the language of one of them, "the wonders of mercy," by which they have been made partakers of "the joy of their Lord."

To Mrs. Chambers, Swartz next wrote as follows:—

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"Tanjore, April 5th, 1786.

"DEAR MADAM,

"Your kind letter I have received, and made a proper use of it, by acquainting Mrs. Wood of the payment of a large sum. Here I have exerted myself much, by entreating the rajah to pay off the 12,000 pagodas which he owed to the late Colonel. But though I do not despair, I find it very difficult to get any thing from these people.

"The account which you have given me of your own condition has rejoiced me very much. No doubt, madam, all the world, its riches and pleasures, cannot satisfy the sinner, who feels his need of a perfect righteousness; and at the same time is fully convinced that such an immense treasure is not to be found in himself.

"How should we, therefore, rejoice at the comfortable declaration of the gospel—nay, invitation, to come and buy bread 'without money and without price.' Freely it has been purchased, freely offered, and freely given, in the way of repentance and faith in Jesus. Considering our own hearts, and the sinful workings of them, we must needs despair of getting proper food for our souls, if it depended upon our own works. But we know that not our works but the work of Christ, that great and divine work of atonement, has purchased all needful blessings for us.

"How happy are you, madam, that, in conjunction with your dear husband you have chosen Christ; that you look upon all things of the world as dross in comparison of the excellent knowledge of Jesus; that you wish to win him as your treasure; for, having him, you have God and his favour—nay, eternal life. To be found in him at all times, in prosperity and adversity, in sickness and health, in life, death, and eternity—being in him, we are secured from all that can hurt us.

"Let us, then, watch and pray, that this new disposition of mind may not be diminished or destroyed.

"May God grant you both abundant grace and strength to shine as lights in the midst of a perverse generation! God bless you both!

"I am, dear Madam,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"P. S. Knowing that Mr. Chambers has a great deal to do, I do not insist upon his writing, though he is always willing to do so. But be pleased to tell him that if the Oriental Magazine contains any thing useful, he may be so kind as to send it to me; if otherwise, I do not wish it."

In his retrospect of the year 1786, Swartz assures the Society for promoting Christian Know-

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ledge, that their labours in behalf of India had not been in vain. The missionaries and teachers of the natives at the various stations had been preserved, and prospered. He particularly notices the diligence and success of the pious catechist, Sattianaden, at Palamcotta, and speaks with much pleasure of the soldiers in the garrison at Tanjore, who attended divine service both on Sundays and at the weekly evening lectures, which were frequented by great numbers. "To this," he says, "they are encouraged by the officers, who all confess that corporal punishments had ceased from the time that the regiment began to relish religious instruction."

In a subsequent letter, he informs the Society of some recent events, which he apprehended would tend to promote the diffusion of Christian knowledge in that part of India; and which certainly afforded fresh proofs of the high respect which was entertained for his character, both by the English government and the native princes, and the beneficial influence of his practical wisdom, integrity, and benevolence.

Peace had been restored to India; but the territory of Tanjore was still in a deplorable condition. The calamities consequent upon the unjust assumption of that province by the nabob, in the year 1773, and the subsequent devastation and ruin occasioned by the invasion of Hyder Ali, had

reduced the rajah to great pecuniary distresses, and rendered the closing years of his reign a painful contrast to the gaiety and splendour of his youth. Debilitated by an incurable disease, and overwhelmed with affliction by the premature loss of his son, his daughter, and his grandson, (his only legitimate descendants,) the unhappy Tuljajee, regardless of the consolations of that divine religion which had been repeatedly displayed before him by his friend and adviser, Swartz, retired in hopeless despondency to the recesses of his palace, from which he never afterwards emerged. Here, brooding over his public embarrassments and his private sorrows, his former mild and benevolent disposition appears to have been exchanged for harshness and indifference to the sufferings of his people. Avarice became his ruling passion; and the collections from a country desolated by war and famine were barely adequate to supply his demands. At this period, the rajah lost his upright sirkeel, or prime minister, Buchenah, who was succeeded by Baba, a man of notoriously oppressive and rapacious character. Instead of relieving the distresses which the people had long suffered, this unprincipled minister augmented them to an intolerable degree, partly for the purpose of replenishing the rajah's treasury, and partly for his own individual advantage, by a system of the most atrocious injustice, cruelty,

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and oppression. The people groaning under this barbarous misgovernment, and appealing to the rajah for redress in vain, at length abandoned their country, and fled in crowds to the neighbouring districts of Karical, Nagore, and Trichinopoly, in the former of which, then possessed by the French, they not only found a secure asylum, but were received with the utmost hospitality and kindness. Several populous towns and villages were deserted, and whole districts, for want of labourers, lay waste and uncultivated. The number of useful inhabitants who thus emigrated was estimated at sixty-five thousand.

Such was the melancholy state of Tanjore when Sir Archibald Campbell succeeded Lord Macartney as governor of Madras; one of the earliest measures of whose administration was to open a communication with the rajah, informing him of the representation which had been made to the English government, and entreating him to dismiss his oppressive Duan, and to appoint able and virtuous men to manage his affairs.

The rajah was offended at this interference, and endeavoured to excuse his own and his minister's conduct; but the attempt was unavailing. The inhabitants of the southern and western districts declared their determination not to cultivate their lands until a change should take place in the administration of Tanjore. In consequence of

this declaration, the government of Fort St. George resolved to take the temporary superintendence of Tanjore into their own hands; and for this purpose, in July 1786, appointed a committee of inspection, consisting of Mr. Hudleston, the resident, Colonel Stuart, the commandant of the garrison, and the paymaster, Mr. Hippisley, with very large powers to watch over the affairs and interests of Tanjore.

With this committee Sir Archibald Campbell proposed to unite the subject of these Memoirs; observing, "There are abundant proofs on record of the zeal, ability, and services of the Rev. Mr. Swartz, whose accurate local knowledge, and facility in the country languages, and, above all, whose high estimation with the rajah, from an intercourse of thirty years, must render his assistance of essential consequence on such occasions.

"His presence, if possible, should always be requested in the committee, in which he should have an honorary seat, and he should also be desired to interpret and translate whatever may be necessary, and to subjoin his signature to all such examinations and translations."

Shortly after this important appointment, Mr. Hudleston proposed to the governor, that Mr. Swartz should not only have a seat but a voice in the committee; stating that he had exerted the political authority of his situation, "in con-

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junction only with that excellent man," and adding, "It is, and will be, as long as I live, my greatest pride, and most pleasing recollection, that from the moment of my entering on this responsible station, I have consulted with Mr. Swartz on every occasion, and taken no step of the least importance without his previous concurrence and approbation; nor has there been a difference of sentiment between us in any one instance. Adverting only to the peculiar circumstances under which the committee begins its administration, and the prospect they present, you will, I am persuaded, sir, readily conceive of how serious a consideration it must be to me to have both the advice and effectual support of Mr. Swartz in the adoption of that conduct which our concurrent judgment may approve. Happy, indeed," continued the resident, himself no mean judge of moral and political merit, "happy would it be for this country, for the Company, and for the rajah himself, when his eyes should be opened, if he possessed the whole authority, and were invested with power to execute all the measures that his wisdom and benevolence would suggest."

In reply to this communication, the governor expressed his entire acquiescence in the resident's suggestion, and added, "Such is my opinion of Mr. Swartz's abilities and integrity, that I have recommended to the board that he should be ad-

mitted a member of the committee, without any reservation whatever; and my confidence in him is such that I think many advantages may be derived therefrom."

In a subsequent part of the same letter, the governor wrote as follows:—

"Mr. Swartz's idea of prevailing with the rajah, to give a joint cowle (or engagement) with the Company to the inhabitants, pleases me much. It would give the Company a more immediate right than they ever have had to see justice done agreeably to the terms of the cowle; and I shall be very happy if the measure is found practicable."

On being called to the committee as an honorary member, "Mr. Swartz expressed his readiness to give his best opinion and advice, and to be aiding, on all occasions that did not involve violent or coercive proceedings; which, however expedient they might be deemed in the estimation of government or the committee, he considered, nevertheless, as unbecoming the character of his mission. His most zealous endeavours, as they ever had been, so they were now, at the service of the Honourable Company, and happy he should esteem himself if he could be in the least instrumental in producing harmony between the rajah

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and the Company, and to see the poor inhabitants of this once flourishing country restored to the undisturbed possession of the fruits of their labour." Having made this declaration, he took his seat in the committee.

In pursuance of the suggestion alluded to by Sir Archibald Campbell, Mr. Swartz requested an interview with the rajah, for the purpose of persuading him to accede to the expedient of adding his cowle to that of the Company, in order to remove the distrust of the inhabitants, and to offer them such security for the redress of their grievances, as would prevail on them to return to the cultivation of the country.

In reply to this proposal, the rajah earnestly deprecated the compromise of his authority by any interference on the part of the committee of inspection; assured Mr. Swartz that he had actually afforded considerable relief to his people, and that some had returned, to whom he had granted a supply of money and of seed for the cultivation of their land.

These expedients, however, were very inadequate to the urgency of the case; and, in consequence, one of the members of the committee of inspection strongly recommended the adoption of some prompt and vigorous measures for the more effectual relief of the people, and particularly suggested frequent meetings of the committee, and a

general survey of the country. To these proposals Mr. Hudleston and Mr. Swartz were decidedly opposed, upon the broad and generous ground of their unwillingness to take any step which might unnecessarily irritate the rajah, or infringe upon those principles of justice by which the British government ought upon all occasions to be actuated, and upon that independence which had been solemnly secured to the rajah on his estoration by Lord Pigot.

Not to enter at length into the discussions of the committee upon this important subject, which were highly honourable to every member of it, it will be sufficient to observe, that Mr. Hippisley, in one of his minutes, attributed the reluctance of Mr. Swartz to acquiesce in any coercive measures, to his sacred function, and to his personal friendship for the rajah, which he thought, to adopt his own expressions, "might revolt his mind against the sterner dictates of civil policy." From the undue influence of these motives, Mr. Hudleston warmly vindicated his friend and coadjutor, observing, that while he left it to Mr. Swartz himself to explain his own views, he could not admit the supposed incompatibility of private friendship with the dictates of sound policy.

It would be unjust to the character of this truly wise and benevolent man not to insert the greater part of his own minute upon this occasion

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"I confess," he observed, "that my sacred function makes me wish (to speak in the mildest terms) that no coercive methods may be used against the rajah; but surely that is not the only motive which makes me abhor force; nay, I mentioned in the committee one of a different nature.

"The recollection of all that happened before the second siege,[1] the injustice of the nabob against the rajah, which was removed in a great measure by the restoration, and the assurances which were then made to him, gave him a full right to be treated with lenity. By such treatment, which he may justly claim, his mind will not only be preserved in a state of tranquillity, but our neighbours will also observe the sacred regard which we pay to our solemn promises; which may be of greater importance, and ought of course to be of greater force, than the consideration of utility.

"My friendly intercourse with the rajah from his accession, shall never bias me to be regardless of the injustice he has done to his oppressed people. This I have declared more than once, when I humbly entreated him to have mercy on his subjects; for which plain declaration I lost, in some degree, his good opinion.

"But as the law threateneth the disobedient

[1] Of Tanjore in 1773.

it shows kindness to those who earnestly *begin* to follow its dictates.

" This is the case of the rajah. Whether from good motives or mere fear, certain it is, he has sent to his people such terms as they never before were acquainted with. He has taken off taxes, which were laid on them in his father's time; he has charged his soubadars to publish them, and the inhabitants confess, that if he religiously keeps those promises, they shall be very happy.

" As to the two articles of betel and salt, he will no doubt relieve his people very soon.

" With respect to the uncultivated fields, we know for certain that many thousand acres lie barren. But this is owing to the small number of inhabitants, which no survey will multiply.

" As to a proper survey made by an engineer, it has been made already by Colonel Ross, Major Stevens, Captain D. Good, and Captain Alexander Read; whether they have only begun, or perfectly finished it, I cannot ascertain. Sure I am that it was undertaken, and I was on the spot with the above-mentioned gentlemen when they actually were surveying."

The result of the preceding discussion in the committee of inspection was the postponement of any coercive measures towards the rajah, and Mr. Swartz was left to try the effect of renewed

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applications of a friendly nature. Alarmed by his representations, and fearing lest, after all, the committee should take the management of the country into their hands, the rajah at length reluctantly announced his determination to do full justice to his people. Rendered suspicious, however, by former experience, they distrusted his promises, and rejected his offers. The rajah then had recourse to the powerful influence of Swartz himself, and requested him to assure them, in his own name, of his highness's protection. He did so; and such was their confidence in his integrity, that seven thousand of the emigrants returned at once; others soon followed; and upon his reminding them that the best season for cultivating the land had nearly elapsed, they replied; "As you have shown kindness to us, we intend to work night and day, to manifest our regard for you." The poor people, anticipating better days, exerted themselves with such vigour, that the harvest was more abundant than that of the preceding year.

The governor and council of Madras were so impressed with the value of Mr. Swartz's services upon this important occasion, that they resolved on granting him a salary of £100 per annum, as interpreter to the Company at Tanjore, with a monthly allowance of twenty pagodas for a palanquin; and the resident was desired, in com-

municating this resolution, to express "the high sense which the board entertained of Mr. Swartz, and the satisfaction they derived from the hope that his zealous exertions in promoting the prosperity of the rajah of Tanjore and his country would be crowned with success."

"In these transactions," says the excellent missionary, ever intent on the great object of his life, "I had the best opportunities of conversing with the first inhabitants about their everlasting welfare. Many begin to be convinced of the folly of idolatry, and as we have a prospect of seeing this country better managed, that is, with more justice, it is to be hoped that it will have a good effect upon the people."

He next adverts to a benevolent institution of a very interesting nature, which the governor's lady was about to establish.

"As Sir Archibald Campbell," he writes, "showed the kindness of a father to this country, so his lady has acted the part of a mother to the poor female orphans. She has formed a plan, and begun to execute it, for educating poor daughters of soldiers, who have hitherto been miserably neglected, or if educated in private schools, were left without protection, and consequently soon fell into the hands of the destroyers. Lady Campbell's plan has the sanction and protection of government. A subscription has been set on

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foot, and more than 14,000 pagodas are already collected. The nabob has given a very spacious house, which he bought for 8,000 pagodas, for that purpose. Twelve ladies form the committee, and each of them is to inspect a month. Lady Campbell hopes that a similar institution for the education of boys, particularly soldiers' sons, will soon be made. Though this account is but short and imperfect, yet I am confident that it will be highly pleasing to the Society. The plan has often been proposed, but never put into execution till now. Every one who takes delight in the welfare of his fellow-creatures, will praise God for the humane disposition he has put into the heart of Lady Campbell. This is a most comfortable sign, and an evidence that God still intends to dwell among us. When the orphans are collected, and things are put into some order, I hope, as her ladyship has invited me to be an eye witness, I shall be able to transmit to you a fuller account of this matter."

He then notices the provincial schools, which were to be erected upon Mr. Sullivan's plan; and after informing the Society that the school at Ramanadapuram was proceeding with tolerable success, he regrets that the external circumstances of the country did not seem favourable to the establishment of others. "The petty lords of districts," (*i. e.* polygars) he observed, "feel too

much oppression; but this it is hoped will be removed, and then those institutions will be admitted without impediment. They would facilitate the connexion between the Europeans and natives, and would open a door to the missionaries, who visited them, to converse freely with the principal people of the country, by which means divine knowledge might be conveyed to the natives in the easiest manner."—Mr. Gericke, he added, was preparing some young persons as instructors in these schools, and the same plan was pursued in his own school at Tanjore, where several European and native children were learning English for this purpose.

At the close of this letter, Swartz took occasion to request the Society to receive his young friend Mr. Kohlhoff into the number of their missionaries, assuring them of his conviction that he would discharge the duties of that office with integrity; and concludes by thanking them for the satisfaction with which he had read Dr. White's celebrated Bampton Lectures, a copy of which had been sent to each of the missionaries, praying that God would be pleased to open the eyes of the nations, and that the pious endeavours of the Society might be blessed with abundant success.

CHAPTER XV.

Ordination of Mr. J. C. Kohlhoff—Adoption of a son by the Rajah of Tanjore—He requests Mr. Swartz to become his guardian, and manager of the country during his minority—He declines, and recommends another plan—The Rajah accedes to it—His death—Reference of the succession to Tanjore, to the Governor General—Lord Cornwallis's directions—Sir Archibald Campbell sets aside the adopted son, and places Ameer Sing on the throne—Advice of the Governor to the new Rajah—Committee of Inspection dissolved—Arrival of the Rev. Mr. Brown at Calcutta—Donation of Ameer Sing to the Tanjore mission—Liberal support of provincial schools, by the Court of Directors—Consequent proceedings of the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, and Mr. Swartz—Question respecting Castes—His conduct with reference to this subject—Congregation at Palamcotta—Letters to Mr. Duffin—Arrival of Mr. Jœnicke as a missionary at Tanjore—Swartz's character of him—Journey to Madras—Provincial schools—Letters to Mr. Chambers and Mr. and Mrs. Duffin.

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THE commencement of the year 1787 was marked by an event peculiarly interesting to Mr. Swartz, and productive, from that period to the present, of the most beneficial consequences to

the mission at Tanjore. This was the ordination, according to the rites of the Lutheran church, of his young friend, Mr. John Caspar Kohlhoff. The ceremony was performed at Tranquebar on the 23rd of January, "one of the most solemn days," said the Danish brethren, "ever celebrated at that place." On that day their venerable senior, the Rev. John Balthasar Kohlhoff, kept the jubilee of his services as a missionary, and being compelled to retire from active labour, had the inexpressible pleasure of seeing his eldest son ordained in the mission church, and invested with the holy office of the priesthood. The several missionaries, both English and Danish, propounded to the candidate questions in divinity, which he answered to their great satisfaction, showing how well he had employed his youthful years under the tuition of Mr. Swartz. The Danish governor, and all the European families of the settlement, together with a great number of native Christians and heathens, attended the service, and a general awe was conspicuous, particularly during the ordination sermon, which Mr. Swartz preached, from 2 Tim. ii. 1. "Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus." After the ordination, the young minister entered the pulpit, and preached in Tamul with such graceful ease, that it was pleasing to every one who understood it. The missionaries expressed the greatest

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hope of his continuing a faithful servant of Christ, and a great help to their brother Swartz in his old age.

To the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, who at his request had admitted Mr. Kohlhoff into the number of their missionaries, he communicated some interesting particulars respecting this new associate of his labours. He had been educated by himself, he informed them, from his eighth to his twenty-fifth year; he was truly upright, and had given satisfactory proofs to the English and Tamul congregations, of his sincerity in practising the duties which he had learned from the holy Scriptures. Humble, and content with little, he was willing to instruct others. The New Testament, he read in its original language. Latin and Hebrew he had not then studied. The Tamul he spoke fluently, and had preached in it above four years. The Portuguese language he also understood. The Moorish, or Hindoostanee, he knew, and in the Persian he could express himself with tolerable propriety. The English and German languages he spoke with some elegance. He had read prayers in the English congregation above four years, and had occasionally preached. Though but young, he was liked by the English, and sent for by the sick.

Such was Swartz's account to the Society of his young colleague. To Mr. and Mrs. Duffin,

who were much attached to him, he mentions him briefly, but touchingly, as follows. CHAP. XV. 1787.

"Tanjore, March 31st, 1787.

"As Mr. Kohlhoff has written to you, I thought to add a line or two. As to his ordination, the sight of the young man and the old father sitting near the altar, melted down my heart, so that I could not refrain from shedding tears. I know you love my young friend, and he has reason to look upon you as a sort of parents. He has now his course to run. May the Spirit of Jesus be his guide and comforter! According to the course of nature, I shall soon leave him and the world. May a gracious God lead me so that I may not be afraid of passing through the valley of death!"

To Mr. Chambers, he wrote more fully on a subject which, on various accounts, so deeply interested him.

"Tanjore, June 8th, 1787.

"My dear Friend,

"Your long and most agreeable letter I received many months ago, and should have answered it before this, had not business and an indolent old age prevented me: for now I must confess that I cannot do business as in former

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days. However, I bless God that my proper business, viz. that of being a witness to him who died for me, is not a burden, but still my delight and comfort.

" Your most friendly letter contains many comfortable proofs of divine Providence watching over you and your welfare, which has rejoiced me much. 'The righteous shall see it and rejoice; and all iniquity shall stop her mouth.' May you and Mrs. C. daily 'observe these things' —then shall you 'understand the loving-kindness of the Lord.'

" As for me, I am also highly obliged to sing of the mercy of the Lord, though I am not worthy of the least of all his divine benefits.

" You know that I took the son of our venerable senior, Mr. Kohlhoff, under my care. From his younger years, I instructed him in Christianity, English, German, Greek, and some country languages. Having been instructed for several years, it pleased God to awaken him to a sense of his own sinfulness, and to raise in his mind a hunger and thirst after the righteousness of Jesus. He then prayed, wept, and meditated; and, in short, he became a very agreeable companion to me. His improvement in knowledge I observed with delight.

" I employed him gradually, so that he in a short time catechised in the English and Malabar

school. As I explained to him the Epistles of St. Paul, and read with him many of the best authors in English and German, I permitted him to preach before the Malabar congregation. By slow degrees he became a very useful assistant to me.

"Feeling the infirmities of old age coming upon me, I represented his case to the Society, requesting permission to put him into sacred orders, and to constitute him my successor. The Society consented to all, desiring that the ordination might be performed in the presence of all the missionaries at the coast. Accordingly we went to Tranquebar. The young candidate was examined by all, and publicly ordained. The Danish governor, and the whole congregation, black and white, were assembled. When kneeling at the altar, he had the peculiar and awful delight of seeing his aged father sitting near him.[1] I explained the words of St. Paul, 2 Timothy ii. 1, and so blessed him in the name of the Lord. Afterwards young Mr. Kohlhoff mounted the pulpit and preached. It is impossible to describe or explain what I felt on that day—the most awful of all my days. Praise the Lord, O my soul!"

[1] That excellent man survived this interesting scene about four years, having lived to see his son diligently engaged in the English mission, and the rest of his family, by the good providence of God, comfortably provided for.

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The young missionary himself, who had been so admirably trained to the great work of the ministry in India by his affectionate instructor and friend, thus expresses his own feelings on the solemn occasion of his ordination, in a letter to Mrs. Duffin.

"I doubt not but my good friend Mr. Pohlé has acquainted you with the unspeakable kindness which God has bestowed upon me, by appointing me to the sacred office. Little did I expect that such an honour should be conferred on me, who am not worthy of the least of the divine favours; nor could I at first prevail upon myself, when I considered the weakness of my constitution, and those great attainments and abilities which are required, to undertake the duties of that important office. But as it was the will of God, I would make no resistance, lest I should be found to fight against God."

Mr. Kohlhoff then gives an account of the ceremony of his ordination, similar to that which has been already detailed, adding, that a sermon was preached by Mr. Pohlé from the words of our Saviour, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" on the leading disposition of a minister of Christ, and that the service was concluded by the celebration of the holy communion.

"May I ever maintain," he continues, "a grateful sense of all the benefits which God has

bestowed upon me; and may he endue me with the grace and strength of his blessed Spirit, that I may be faithful in the sacred office to which he has appointed me, notwithstanding the difficulties which, no doubt, I must meet with! My dear father finished the seventy-fifth year of his age last November. At present he is able to do little or nothing on account of his infirmities, which makes him long to be delivered from this earthly tabernacle, and to be with Christ his dear Redeemer. It is indeed a great exercise of patience to such a person to continue waiting in pain and weakness, when he finds that his active work is done, and thinks himself laid by as a vessel of little more use."

It is gratifying to reflect that the humility and diffidence thus expressed by the young missionary were the prelude to a long course of pious and useful labour, which has at length brought him to no great distance from the age of his venerable father, whom he so affectingly mentioned, and which has fully verified the confidence and hope expressed by his admirable tutor and friend at his ordination.

During the absence of Swartz, at Tranquebar, on this interesting occasion, an event took place in the court of Tanjore, in consequence of which he was unexpectedly, and most honourably to himself, called to act a prominent part in the poli-

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tical affairs of the country. This, as it occupied much of his time and thoughts during the last ten years of his life, and is as yet but imperfectly understood, it will be important fully to develop; more particularly for the purpose of showing, that while he continued to devote his chief attention to his higher and more immediate duties as a missionary, it proved the occasion of more eminently displaying not only the integrity and disinterestedness, but the wisdom and ability which distinguished his character.

The event referred to, was the adoption of a son by the rajah, as his successor in the kingdom of Tanjore. The domestic calamities of the unhappy Tuljajee have been already noticed; and, according to the custom of his country, he was anxious to select a child from one of the branches of his ancient house, to supply the failure of his own immediate descendants.

In this important proceeding, the rajah, who, as it has been already remarked, was well acquainted with the civil and religious institutions of his country, was careful to observe all the ceremonies requisite to render it legal and valid.

This solemn act he announced in the following letter, dated January 26th, 1787, to Sir Archibald Campbell, governor of Madras, as translated by the Mahratta interpreter.

"It has been my wish for two or three years past to adopt a son; but as I have had no opportunity of carrying it into execution, it has hitherto been delayed. Having now resolved to choose one out of my near relations, I have fixed upon the son of Shahajee (the son of Soubajee rajah, my near cousin by lineal descent,) who is ten years old, and proper in all respects. Accordingly, on the 2nd of Rubbisanni, (22nd January,) in consequence of my wishes, I adopted and named him Serfojee rajah, with all the forms of our religion: this has afforded great relief to my mind. As your excellency is my friend and favourer, I have written a letter to give you this pleasing information. I am firmly convinced that whatever favour and protection I have received from the honourable Company, and from your excellency, will hereafter be continued to my child Serfojee, without deviation. I and my country have no resource but in your excellency: I rely on you with the greatest confidence. All other information will be communicated to your excellency by my vakeel.

"To a friend, why should I write more?"

A day or two after despatching the preceding letter, the rajah sent for Mr. Swartz, and, on his arrival, addressed him in the following brief but emphatic manner. Pointing to his newly-adopted

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child, he said, "This is not my son, but yours; into your hand I deliver him." The pious missionary replied, "May this child become a child of God!" Here the rajah, being distressed by his cough, suddenly terminated the interview; but on the following day, finding himself a little stronger, he again requested his attendance, and thus resumed the conversation: "I appoint you guardian to the child: I intend to give him over to your care;" or, literally, to put his hands into yours.

So unexpected and flattering a charge might have proved a temptation to a man of greater ambition and less disinterestedness than Swartz; but he immediately replied, "You know, rajah, that I have always been willing to serve you, as far as I could; but this, your last request, is beyond my power. You have adopted this child, and you now leave him without a guardian, without a support, like a garden without a fence. I am afraid that by so doing, you would not consult the happiness of the child, or the welfare of your country. You know there are competitors and parties in the palace, who aspire to the government. Cabals and animosities will ensue more than you may think of. These will endanger the life of the boy, and involve the kingdom in confusion. As for me, I must disclaim all guardianship, for this reason: because, waving all other considerations,

it would be impossible for me to take care of him.[1] I may, perhaps, see him once or twice in a month, and may give him my best advice; but what poor guardianship would this be! You will be pleased to adopt some other plan." The rajah asked, "What method do you propose?" Swartz answered, "You have a brother,—deliver the child to him; charge him to educate and treat him as his own son, till he is grown up. Thus his health and life may be preserved, and the welfare of the country may be secured." To this suggestion, the rajah at first objected; but afterwards said, "Well, I will consider all that you have urged!" "And so," adds the missionary, "I left him."

The objection thus alluded to on the part of Tuljajee, was a doubt as to the legitimacy of his brother, who was, in fact, the son of a concubine, and with whom he had never been on friendly and cordial terms. In the course, however, of the evening after the preceding conversation, the rajah's mother visited him, and earnestly interceded in behalf of Rama Swamey, afterwards called Ameer Sing. This, combined with the advice of Swartz, determined Tuljajee to adopt the plan

[1] It is evident, from his subsequent conduct, that this rejection of the guardianship of Serfojee related chiefly to the government of the country during his minority, and not to that of his person and education; in which we shall soon find Mr. Swartz interesting himself, and of which he was recognised by the Madras government as the guardian.

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proposed. He accordingly sent for his brother, delivered his adopted son into his hands, desired him to be his guardian, and earnestly commended him to his care and affection. He then ordered a dress for his brother, and requested him to be kind to all his old servants, and to continue them in their offices. The rajah's mother and the principal people of the palace were present at this interview, and expressed their joy and satisfaction at the arrangement which had been made.

The next morning the rajah, who was rapidly sinking, requested the attendance of the resident, Mr. Hudleston, Colonel Stuart, the commander of the garrison, and Mr. Swartz. They were conducted to a small pavilion, near the apartment in which the rajah was lying, and were there introduced to his brother and his adopted son, who were sitting together surrounded by his principal servants. The dying prince then sent the following message to them. After stating that, in compliance with the suggestions of Mr. Swartz, he had appointed Ameer Sing to be the guardian of the child, and regent of the country, till he should be capable of succeeding to the throne, he expressed his desire that the honourable Company would consider these two persons as the nearest and dearest to him in the world, and would support them in the government of the country,

according to their solemn promise to maintain him and his heirs on the throne, as long as the sun and the moon should endure. He then said, that as he looked upon the resident and Mr. Swartz as faithful, he requested them to give him their assurance that they would communicate his wishes to government, and expressed his hope that the Company would confirm this his last will, and continue to his brother and adopted son the same kindness which they had shown to himself. Mr. Hudleston having promised to transmit a faithful account of all that had passed, the rajah replied, "This assurance comforts me in my last hours!"

Mr. Swartz, as well as the resident, communicated to Sir Archibald Campbell a narrative of this interesting transaction, and at the close of his letter, took occasion to offer the following important suggestion to the governor.

"These are the most material things which I thought necessary to lay before you. One word I beg leave to add; viz. that whatever salutary regulations for the welfare of the country and the administration of justice ought to be made, might now be introduced with great ease, as the rajah's brother would cheerfully consent to all that might be proposed by you, honourable Sir; so that the welfare of the country might now be grounded upon a solid basis.

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"My wish has been, and always shall be, that your government may prove the greatest blessing to this country."

"Now, within a few days," said Swartz, in a letter to two of his friends, "it will appear what government intend to do;" adding, with his constant endeavour to improve every incident to a spiritual purpose, "May *you* both be 'kings and priests before God!'" (Rev. v. 10.)

Two days after the affecting scene just described, the rajah, Tuljajee, who, from the commencement of their intercourse, and amidst all his errors and irregularities, had treated Swartz with unvarying respect and kindness, expired. His obsequies appear to have been conducted with due pomp, but without any tumult. The body of the rajah was burned; but no female was immolated on the funeral pile,—a circumstance of which Sir Archibald Campbell, much to his honour, at a period when the subject had excited but little attention, availed himself, to urge upon his successor the prohibition of a custom "distressing," as he justly observed, "to the feelings of humanity, and only serving to enrich the priest, by means of the jewels of the women who are thus cruelly and untimely sent out of the world."

The committee of inspection, by order of the governor and council of Madras, took the neces-

sary measures for preserving the tranquillity of the country. In conjunction with Ameer Sing, who was considered as regent during the minority of Serfojee, they were directed to maintain the government of Tanjore as administered by the late rajah, until further instructions should be received from the governor-general of Bengal; and on the day following the funeral of the rajah, the military force which had been assembled, in order to prevent disturbance, was, at the suggestion of Mr. Swartz, withdrawn from the vicinity of the palace.

In communicating to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge the preceding events, he informed them, that Ameer Sing promised to be a father to the people, to alleviate their burdens, to inspect the state of the country, and not to leave the whole administration to his servants. "He hopes," he added, "to be confirmed by the governor-general, according to the last will of his brother. If so, certainly he will not hinder the progress of the Christian religion, but, at least externally, further it."

On the death of Tuljajee, the nabob of the Carnatic took the opportunity of urging his claim to the government of Tanjore; but this, having been maturely considered and declared invalid many years before, was at once rejected by Lord Cornwallis. The friends, however, of Ameer Sing,

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were by no means contented that he should retain merely the character of regent, and guardian to the adopted son of the late rajah, but appear to have made strong representations to Sir Archibald Campbell on the injustice of excluding him from the immediate succession to the throne. These being transmitted to Lord Cornwallis, made a considerable impression upon his mind in favour of Ameer Sing; but in a minute in council upon this subject, it is well observed, that, however contrary to our ideas of natural justice the disposition made by Tuljajee might be, still if it were conformable to the laws of the Hindoos, and accorded with their opinions and prejudices, no arguments of this kind should prevail upon the governor-general to alter it.

It was also insinuated, that at the time of the adoption of Serfojee by the late rajah, his mind was so much weakened by disease, and influenced by some of those around him, that he could scarcely be considered competent to the performance of so important an act.

These representations induced Lord Cornwallis to send instructions to the government of Madras, to inquire whether the pundits and principal people of Tanjore considered the succession, under the circumstances of the adoption, and the rights of the brother, as conformable to the laws and religion of the Hindoos, or in any manner op-

posed to them. Supposing the reply to such an inquiry to be in the affirmative, the adopted son was to be confirmed in the succession, and to be supported by the Madras government: if otherwise, Ameer Sing was to be raised to the musnud, and to be equally supported by the British authority. If the case should appear doubtful, and no sufficient test should be offered for the determination of the points in question, the governor-general stated that he should not hesitate, on the ground of his superior natural rights, to decide in favour of Ameer Sing. It is important to observe, that in entering into this discussion, the Bengal government had no interested motive, but was solely influenced by a desire to prove that their proceedings were regulated by strict justice, and an impartial regard to the rights of the Hindoo princes.

In pursuance of these instructions, Sir Archibald Campbell proceeded in the month of April to Tanjore, and convened twelve pundits, to whom certain questions concerning the adoption of Serfojee, and the right of Ameer Sing to the throne, were proposed. The members of the committee of inspection were requested to attend at their deliberations, and Mr. Swartz to act as interpreter.

Though there can be no doubt that Sir Archibald Campbell was sincerely desirous of ascer-

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taining the truth, subsequent investigations and events clearly prove that sufficient precaution was not used to guard against the undue influence of Ameer Sing and his party, in biassing the minds of the pundits upon this occasion; and it unfortunately happened, that though Mr. Swartz was fully competent to interpret their language, he was at that time not so intimately acquainted with the doctrine of the Shasters upon this particular subject, as to be able to detect the discordance of their opinions with the principles of Hindoo law and religion.

To the various questions proposed to them, the pundits unanimously replied, "that the adoption of Serfojee was illegal and invalid, and the right of Ameer Sing to the throne clear and undoubted." In consequence of this decision, Sir Archibald Campbell declared his resolution to set aside the adopted son, and to raise the brother of the late rajah to the throne of his ancestors. This determination was immediately carried into effect; and the ceremony of placing Ameer Sing on the musnud, by the governor of Madras, was accompanied with every mark of distinction and solemnity. At the close of the speech which he addressed to the new rajah upon this occasion, he expressed his confident expectation, that the adopted child, Serfojee, would be countenanced, protected, and maintained in a suitable manner;

with which intimation Ameer Sing promised the most faithful compliance. A treaty was concluded between the Company and the rajah, who immediately assumed the government of the country.

Sir Archibald Campbell, at the same time, took the opportunity of earnestly recommending to the rajah his serious attention to the state of the revenue, and the administration of justice in Tanjore. Upon both these important points, the governor gave him the most friendly and excellent advice, and referred him to Mr. Swartz as the person best qualified to afford him counsel and assistance.

The committee of inspection was shortly afterwards dissolved, by a letter from the governor and council of Madras, in which they expressed a high sense of the zeal, abilities, and exertions of its members, and a perfect approbation of their conduct, which was recorded on their proceedings, and would be reported to the court of directors.

On the elevation of Ameer Sing to the sovereignty of Tanjore, Mr. Swartz privately admonished him to fulfil the promise given to his subjects, to hear their complaints, and to restrain the injustice of his servants. At the close, however, of a letter to Mr. Chambers in the month of June following, after briefly mentioning the death of the late friendly rajah, and the adoption of

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Serfojee, he thus refers to the conduct of his successor.

"His brother is put on the throne; but he goes on in such a manner, that it is to be feared, he will not be able to fulfil the agreement made with the Company.

"At present," he continues, "I live at some distance from the Fort, where I keep the English and Malabar school. In the king's regiment, there are a good number of soldiers who attend divine service every evening. One evening I go to the Fort, and another evening Mr. Kohlhoff.

"I hope that ere this you have reason to rejoice in the safety of Mrs. C——. May you both be happy parents; and may you both live so long as to see your children piously educated! Though I write but seldom, I remember you and your situation very often.

"The arrival, and now the ministry, of the Rev. Mr. Brown, will, I hope, be to you both a great comfort. Remember me to him, with my sincere wishes that his labour may be abundantly blessed. God bless you both in all respects!

"I am

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The arrival of the excellent chaplain of the

Company, thus hailed by Swartz, proved a source of the highest comfort and advantage to his friends, and many others in Calcutta, where his Christian character and labours, during many years, were justly appreciated and eminently prospered. As the coadjutor and friend of Buchanan, he is well known and esteemed; nor is it too much to assert, that had his early appeal to this country been cordially seconded, the cause of Christianity in India, would probably ere this have been much more widely and effectually extended.

It is not unworthy of notice, as one among many other instances of the liberality of Mr. Swartz, that, in the year 1782, in furtherance of the public service, he lent one thousand pagodas to the late rajah of Tanjore; which sum he now consented to receive, without interest, from the commissioners for adjusting the claims on the deceased rajah, at the accession of his brother.

Not long afterwards Mr. Swartz reported to the Madras government, that about fifteen years previous to that date he built a church at Vellore for the instruction of the natives; that when the war ended, and peace was established, four companies of his Majesty's 72nd regiment were stationed in Vellore, who, having no proper quarters, used the church as barracks, and continued so to use them.

He therefore requested that government would

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either allow him a monthly gratuity, or buy the church for the Company's use.

The surveyor was directed to report on this subject; in communication with whom, Mr. Swartz agreed to accept three hundred pagodas as the purchase-money, which was paid to him accordingly, in full of all demands, and the building transferred to the Company.

Though the conduct of Ameer Sing, as will hereafter appear, was, in many respects, unsatisfactory, it is pleasing to observe, that he took an early opportunity of fulfilling the promise of his brother " before his death, by delivering to Mr. Swartz a written document, sealed by himself and his chief ministers, in which he made an appropriation for ever of a village, of the yearly income of about five hundred pagodas, (£200,) for the school, and more especially for the orphans." The village is situated on the confines of the district belonging to Tranquebar, which Swartz preferred to one in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, on account of the convenience of sending the children, in case of war, of which he was constantly apprehensive, to a neutral territory. In a letter to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, which contained this pleasing information, he makes honourable mention of Mr. Hippisley, as having always shown himself willing to be serviceable to the mission.

The plan of establishing provincial schools, proposed by Mr. Sullivan, of which some account has been already given,[1] will be in the recollection of the reader. Upon the return of that gentleman to Europe, he communicated it to the directors of the East India Company; and it is due to that distinguished body to state, that they at once perceived the wisdom and utility of the suggestion, and with the most enlarged views of the real welfare of the natives of India, they determined on affording it their cordial and liberal support. The following is an extract of a letter from the court of directors to the governor and council of Fort St. George, upon this subject, dated 16th of February 1787.

"The utility and importance of establishing a free and direct communication with the natives, having been sensibly experienced during the late war in India; and their acquiring a knowledge of the English language being the most effectual means of accomplishing this desirable object, it is with great pleasure we learn from Mr. John Sullivan, our late resident at Tanjore, that, seconded in his laudable undertaking by the zealous exertions of the Rev. Mr. Swartz, he had prevailed on the rajah of Tanjore, and the rajahs of the great and little Marawar, to establish schools for teach-

[1] See vol. i. p. 427.

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ing English at Tanjore, Ramanadapuram, and Shevagunga, the capitals of their respective countries; the two latter assigning three hundred pagodas each for the support of their two seminaries. These works of peace, Mr. Sullivan informs us, have been interrupted by the calamities of war, and the funds assigned for their support necessarily diverted to other purposes; but we hope they will revive with the restoration of tranquillity.

"Highly approving of institutions calculated to establish mutual good faith, to enlighten the minds of the natives, and to impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for the British nation, by making them acquainted with the leading features of our government, so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind, we have determined to evince our desire of promoting their success, by contributing two hundred and fifty pagodas per annum towards the support of each of the schools above mentioned, and of any other school which may be opened for the same purpose; and we accordingly direct you to pay such schools respectively the annual stipend of two hundred and fifty pagodas, flattering ourselves that our example will excite the native princes in alliance with us to similar and more extensive benefactions."

The governor in council at Madras lost no time in forwarding these judicious and benevolent views of the court of directors; and for this purpose they requested Mr. Swartz to communicate all the information which his experience enabled him to afford. Considering that the plan of provincial schools was to be supported by government, he thought it right to lay the subject before the members of the vestry at Tanjore, in order, as he observed, that they might be perfectly acquainted with his method of proceeding. Colonel Stuart, one of the members, being at that time absent—"Be so kind," he adds, in writing to Mr. Chamier, secretary to the government of Fort St. George, "as to acquaint Sir Archibald Campbell with the reason of my delay in answering; because I am afraid, if it were not explained, it might appear as a want of respect which I owe to government, and which I shall always religiously pay."

In his next letter to Mr. Chamier, he enclosed the minute of the vestry, together with some account of the English school at Tanjore. With respect to those at Ramanadapuram and Shevagunga, he was unable to transmit any detailed report, in consequence of their distance, and the unsettled state of those districts.

The vestry, after receiving Mr. Swartz's repre-

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sentation upon the subject, concurred in recommending that Mr. Kohlhoff should jointly with himself superintend the school at Tanjore; and that those at Ramanadapuram and Shevagunga, being more distant than he could conveniently visit at his time of life, should be placed entirely under the care of Mr. Kohlhoff and Mr. Pohlé. The vestry also approved his suggestion, that, beside the salaries to the schoolmasters, a small monthly allowance should be made to his brethren, for their necessary expenses in visiting the schools. Mr. Swartz finally expressed his hope, that the members of the vestry would from time to time assist him in this laudable work, so as most effectually to promote the views of the honourable Company. "It will be a lasting consolation," it is added, "to himself, to be in the least instrumental to its furtherance."

The following is an outline of the plan of education in the English school at Tanjore, as communicated to the vestry, and which was proposed as a model for those intended to be established.

In the morning, at half-past six, Mr. Swartz begins with prayer.

After prayer, the children breakfast.

From eight till nine, Mr. Kohlhoff explains the Christian doctrine to them.

From nine till eleven, they read with Mr. Kohlhoff.

Another master attends the spelling class.

From ten till eleven, the elder children learn arithmetic, under the inspection of Mr. Kohlhoff. The younger children spell and read the Psalter.

From eleven till twelve, they all learn the Hindostanee language, with a Mahomedan.

In the afternoon, from two till three, the elder children read easy books of history and geography.

From three till four, the elder children learn to read Tamul. The younger spell and read.

From four till five, they all write copies.

From five till six, they take exercise, under the inspection of Mr. Kohlhoff.

From seven till eight, public prayer.

From eight till nine, they sup.

From nine till ten, they are encouraged to speak English. Every one relates what he has seen, heard, or read, before Mr. Swartz.

At the conclusion of this sketch, he modestly states, that if the vestry should suggest any improvement upon his plan, it should be immediately adopted.

The governor and council at Fort St. George, in reporting these proceedings to the court of directors, add the following observation :—

"We are so well convinced that there is no one either better qualified or disposed than Mr.

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Swartz to establish and promote the institutions directed by your honourable Court, that we have approved what he has written on the subject, and shall hope that his endeavours will be successful. If they are not, we shall be well assured that the plan at this juncture is not feasible."

In a letter to Mr. Chamier, the pious missionary thus expresses his grateful sense of the approbation with which his proposal had been honoured.

" My humble request is to present my sincere and respectful thanks to government for this new proof of their kindness towards me."

" From this time," observes the able and intelligent author of a summary view of the Society's establishments in India,[1] " the mission gradually extended itself around its chief seat, which was the residence of Swartz, and by donations of money and land, a fund was provided, from which the support of teachers and catechists was defrayed, and chapels and school-rooms were built at places, some contiguous to, and some at a considerable distance from, the fort and town. The missionaries made frequent visits to these institutions, allotting to them such portion of their time and care as could be spared from the

[1] Appendix to the Report of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel for the year 1830, p. 174.

superior requisitions of the principal establishment.

It had often been objected, at this early period, as it still continues to be, to the success of the missions in India, that few, if any, but those of the lower castes, were ever converted to the Christian faith. Without referring to various considerations which might tend to abate our surprise at this supposed failure among the higher classes, it may be satisfactory to record the testimony of so competent and unimpeachable a witness as Swartz upon this point.

"Concerning the question about castes," he observes, "both at Tranquebar and here, our congregations consist of nearly an equal number of the higher and the lower." He then refers particularly to the difficulty which naturally arose as to the intercourse between natives of different castes, even after their conversion to that divine religion, which while it invariably recognises the distinctions of rank in civil society, teaches that all are brethren, as the children of the same common Father, and the disciples of the same meek and lowly Saviour. "Here," he continues, "the men and women of the higher caste sit on one side of the church, and on the other, those of the lower.

"I have carefully avoided all unnecessary restraint, and thus have met with fewer difficulties. Even at the administration of the sacrament,

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sometimes one or other of the lower caste has first approached to receive it, without producing any unpleasant sensation. Should you visit our church on a Sunday, you would observe with surprise the clean appearance of the lower caste, so that one might often take them for the higher. What renders them peculiarly obnoxious, is their practice of feeding upon dead cattle. I have always expressed the utmost abhorrence of such a custom, and positively declared that I would not allow it, and accordingly I hardly know any instance of it here. The country priests and catechists generally belong to one of the higher castes. The catechist Gabriel is, indeed, of the lower; but notwithstanding this, he converses freely with people of a higher class, as he pays particular attention to cleanliness in his dress. In the interior of the country, such intercourse is certainly not so easy. I was lately invited to the house of a heathen of the higher caste, when the pariar catechist came to me. I called to him, 'Stop; I will come to *you*;' the suttirer, that is, the people of the higher caste, have not yet learned to be humble: they are proud sinners yet—we must bear with them. This they were not willing to admit, and accordingly showed kindness to the catechist. In another place, in the house of a heathen, many people assembled, whom I catechised and prayed with, and we even had divine

service there on a Sunday. The master of the house sat down at my feet, listening with great attention. O! that we could spend more time among them. Things would then soon assume a more promising appearance. We preach to high and low, that Jesus Christ is our wisdom, our righteousness, our sanctification, and our redemption."

The following anecdote affords another illustration of the easy and inoffensive manner in which Mr. Swartz was accustomed to endeavour to lessen the prejudices of caste.

He[1] was waiting one morning in the antechamber of the palace at Tanjore, for an interview with the rajah, when he was thus accosted by a Brahmin, who was attending there for the same purpose. "Mr. Swartz, do you not think it a very bad thing to touch a pariar?" "O yes," replied the venerable missionary, "a very bad thing." The Brahmin, however, perceiving, by his manner, that more was meant than expressed, asked again, "But, Mr. Swartz, what do you mean by a pariar?" "I mean," the good man answered, "a thief, a liar, a slanderer, a drunkard, an adulterer, a proud man." "O then," said the Brahmin, hastily interrupting him, "we are all pariars." Thus was he made to perceive how in-

[1] See the able and convincing reply of the Rev. Mr. Hough to the Abbé Dubois, p. 79.

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significant, in the missionary's opinion, was his boasted superiority over the pariar: while the lesson was calculated to teach him the only distinction, in the sight of God, between one man and another.

The judicious manner in which Swartz treated this difficult and delicate point, is another proof of his wise and just conception of the liberal and tolerant spirit of Christianity; and the happy consequence of his mild and forbearing conduct was, that the distinctions of caste among his converts, were gradually disappearing and would probably, in time, have been entirely forgotten. The rash and intolerant spirit, however, of some of his younger successors revived and exasperated the feelings of the native Christians upon these painful distinctions; and at the period when the mission was visited by Bishop Middleton, and afterwards by Bishop Heber, an appeal was made to them upon this subject. Both those eminent prelates concurred in considering the feelings in question as partaking more of a civil than a religious nature, and in recommending mutual forbearance and kindness to the converts; at the same time enjoining on the missionaries a recurrence to the principles and practice of their admirable predecessor, Swartz, in allowing the distinction of castes in church to continue, provided that due care were taken to teach the congregations that they

are all naturally, and in the light of Christianity, equal.[1]

One other letter to his friend Mr. Duffin, during the year at which the narrative of Swartz's life has arrived, will serve to show his acquaintance with the writings of some of our English divines, as well as to illustrate the deep humility of this eminent missionary.

"Tanjore, September 21st, 1787.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your most agreeable favour I have received, and am very willing to send you two volumes of Isaac Watts's Sermons. I have Sherlock's; but they are not for a mixed congregation.[2]

[1] The whole subject is fully discussed in the Journal of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p 451, and in his Life, vol. ii. pp. 222, 399.

Since the publication of the first edition of these Memoirs, the present Bishop of Calcutta has felt it to be his duty to take some decisive measures to abolish the distinction of caste among the native converts to Christianity in Southern India; the evil having increased to a magnitude not contemplated either by Swartz, or the Bishop's revered predecessors. His lordship has in consequence addressed several letters to the native Christian churches upon the subject; and it is earnestly hoped that, under his firm yet judicious and paternal guidance, this difficult question may be brought to a just and satisfactory conclusion.

[2] His pious correspondent had probably requested some sermons for the use of the little Christian party at Vellore, who, in the absence of any chaplain or missionary, were chiefly indebted to him for instruction.

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"Mr. Kohlhoff had a severe attack last week. Having bathed, he became cold, and his speech failed him. You may easily imagine what I felt that night.

"Hitherto I have been tolerably well. If I live two weeks longer, I shall enter upon the sixty-second year of my age. What immense kindness and patience has God shown towards me! I shall bless him throughout all eternity.

"It is true, our success has not been equal to our wishes. But to have been beneficial even to few, is not to be despised. Nay, some of the seed sown in our lifetime may grow up when we are no more. In short, it is our duty, and happiness too, to be resigned to the will of God, and to work as long as we have opportunity.

"I hear that Mrs. D. is frequently ailing, though not severely sick. All, all must work to our welfare—afflictions and pains not excepted.

"Remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Toriano—nay, to all with whom I have been acquainted. Have you heard of Col. and Mrs. F——? God grant that we may all come together in a better world, free from sin and misery!—God bless you and us all! O that you may enjoy that happiness which springs from sin forgiven, and communion with God!

"I am always, dear sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

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Early in the year 1788, in a letter to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Swartz notices the first payment of the liberal grant from the East India Company towards the support of the provincial schools already established, and his appropriation of it, as he had proposed, to the schoolmasters and the superintendents. "I desire," he adds, "nothing of it for myself; although I shall readily assist as long as I am able." He then mentions in the most satisfactory terms, the ability, zeal, and industry of Mr. I. Kohlhoff, his new colleague in the mission. Respecting the congregation at Palamcotta, concerning which inquiries had been made, he replied, that it consisted of about one hundred and twenty persons, many of whom were inferior traders, some artificers, some farmers, and a few native soldiers, or sepoys, all having their respective employments, and none, as far as he knew, living upon the charity of others, much less of the church. The able and pious catechist Sattianaden, was proceeding excellently with the care of this interesting congregation. The English liturgy was translated, and used regularly before the sermon. The following very interesting letter occurs in this year, addressed to Mr. and Mrs. Duffin.

"Tanjore, July 2, 1788.

"My dear Friends,

"I am just come from taking my farewell of

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Mrs. J. ——. In all human probability I have seen her for the last time. She has had her share of sorrow. May we meet in a blessed eternity, where sin and sorrow cannot afflict us any more! As there is sin in us in this world, there is, and must of course be sorrow. Nor have we any reason to complain of its being so, since sorrow, if well managed, will produce excellent fruits. No man, unacquainted with grief, ever came to a lively knowledge of himself and his corruption; without which how could he in earnest apply to Jesus the Redeemer, hungering and thirsting after his righteousness? Not knowing ourselves and our corruption, how can we fervently pray for pardon, or for the grace of the Holy Spirit? In short, I believe every sincere Christian will confess with David—"Before I was afflicted I went astray; but now I keep thy commandments." If, then, sorrow and affliction are our medicine, let us take from the hand of the Lord the cup of salvation, and call upon his name to make it effectual to our amendment. On these and the like meditations you both jointly with Mr. J—— will dwell, and comfort yourselves with the prospect of a better world. These are frequently my thoughts, particularly as I am so near my end. I am not sick; I go through the course of my duties; but when alone, I groan a little, yet I hope without murmuring.

"I intended to write a little more, but a sick man in the hospital sends for me, wishing to hear a word of comfort. Farewell, my dear friends. May the spirit of Jesus guide, strengthen, and preserve you in the place whither Providence has sent you! If God be with you, none will be able to hurt you. Only take care to walk worthy of the gospel you profess. Glorify God and your Redeemer, even in that gay place to which you now belong.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you! I am, till I see you before the throne of God,

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

In writing to one of the same excellent persons on the 12th of November of this year, Mr. Kohlhoff thus expresses himself respecting him whom he calls "his honoured god-father."

"Mr. Swartz has enjoyed a perfect state of good health by the mercy of God since I last wrote to you. Though now advanced in age, it is surprising how a gracious God enables him to go through a great deal of business. Our heavenly Father uses him still as a blessed instrument not only for the enlargement of his kingdom, but for the promoting of the public good.

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At present there are thirty-five of the natives instructed, who will soon be admitted into our church."

A few days afterwards, Swartz experienced a most merciful preservation. He had risen before daylight, and sat down on a seat where a very dangerous serpent lay; but providentially it did not attack him. Its bite is so venomous, that in general death ensues before any remedy can be applied.

In the month of October in this year, the Rev. Mr. Jœnicke, who had been recommended to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge by professor Schultz of Halle, as well qualified for the important office of a missionary, arrived at Tanjore. He was wisely directed to remain for a time with Mr. Swartz, by whose admonitions and example it was the express wish of the Society that he should regulate his conduct. "That worthy brother of the mission," said Dr. Vincent in his charge to Mr. Jœnicke previous to his departure for India, "and labourer in Jesus Christ, has established such a reputation for candour, integrity, and disinterestedness, among both natives and Europeans, as cannot fail of recommending the cause of Christianity to men of every description who have heard his name; and this we assert from the concurrent testimony of every person who has returned from India." He then

quotes the striking passage from the memoirs of a soldier,[1] which has been already introduced. "This testimony," he added, "from the pen of a military man, in circumstances where all partiality and prepossession are precluded, conveys an eulogium which exceeds the utmost panegyric we can bestow.

"The conduct of this worthy missionary has smoothed the path for those who are to come after him; by removing the prejudices of the natives, he has brought esteem and reverence upon the office itself;—and esteem and reverence are indispensable requisites, without which the proposer of a new doctrine can conceive no hope of gaining converts to his opinions."

Of the new missionary, Swartz wrote early in the following year to the Society in terms of high approbation. He soon improved in the English language, so that he was able to read prayers to the satisfaction of the congregation. In learning the Tamul language, Mr. Jœnicke found no difficulty. The New Testament he was able to read in the course of a few weeks, and it was expected that he would soon be prepared to pursue the work of a missionary in that language. "His talents," he observed, "are excellent; but his heart, temper, and conduct, are the principal qualities which recommend him to the mission.

[1] Colonel Fullarton, vol. i. p. 416.

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May he become 'a burning and a shining light' to this idolatrous country!"

Various reasons, partly relating to the concerns of the mission, and partly to some painful circumstances of a private nature, induced Mr. Swartz in the month of December to visit Madras. He was absent from Tanjore about two months, during the greater part of which time he officiated at Madras, preaching every Sunday in the English, Tamul, and Portuguese languages. From the mission station near this presidency, at the head of which Mr. Gericke was now placed, he wrote to Mr. Chambers. The first part of his letter relates to the misconduct of an aged missionary, who had been entrusted with large sums of money belonging chiefly to the families of deceased Europeans, which he had in various ways improvidently lent, or unwarrantably employed in private speculations. With this distressing subject Mr. Chambers was, in common with Swartz, officially concerned. Thus he writes, with true Christian benevolence and piety.

"Vepery, Jan 11, 1789.

1789. "MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I will not attempt to apologize for my silence. I could not answer your questions, because Mr. F—— either would not, or could not, give me an account of various points of his mal-adminis-

tration. Poor F. lent to a Polygar a large sum, and the bond he mortgaged to Mr. ——, whose executors retain it as a security for money which F. owed to him. So Mrs. W. and other widows and orphans have lost their money.

"That unhappy man lent another large sum to the nabob's son-in-law, part of which belongs to Mrs. ——, and the rest to other families. I have written to Sir Archibald Campbell to plead the cause of the widow and the orphan, and to persuade the nabob to acknowledge the debt. The governor and his lady promised to befriend the poor; but afterwards they sent me word that I might go to the nabob. I went to him this very morning; but heard nothing but compliments. His eldest son promised to acquaint his father with my wishes; but these are 'verba, prætereaque nihil.' I shall give a power of attorney to Mr. Gericke; for I am at a great distance, and cannot run to Madras. My age and office will not permit me to spend so much time in vain. I have felt the burthen of an executor. I never thought that it was so full of vexation and trouble; and after all, it is well if one be not censured. Whether you will appoint an attorney to act in your stead, I leave to your own judgment.

"The money which the rajah of Tanjore owed to Colonel Wood is now put into the list of his

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private debts. Whenever a dividend is paid to other creditors, Mrs. W. will receive her share; so that the executors will have no trouble but that of taking bills upon the directors. I have now done with this business, which has given me great trouble and uneasiness.

"The poor old man F—— is at present in prison. One of his creditors keeps him there. I have visited him thrice. Think what I felt!

"Mr. Gericke is directed to remain here. I entertain a pleasing hope that things will from this time proceed better. I believe you know him. He is a sincere Christian—a Nathanael, in whom there is no guile.

"I have been here above forty days. To complain is, as you know, to no purpose. But I am astonished that men should forget their latter end to such a degree. They eat and drink, and rise to play. I have asked many of them what they will think when all these things are taken from them—a dreadful eternity will, no doubt, be theirs.

"Blessed, for ever blessed be God, who has awakened us to consider our last end, and rouseth us daily to be prepared for that awful event! May we be found at all times in Christ! This was Paul's prayer, and I am certain it is yours. In Christ we shall be justified, and clothed with his righteousness, that we may appear before God in white garments. In him we shall obtain

strength to die to the world, and to live according to his will and his example. In him we shall enter into the house and kingdom of his Father.

"Gracious God, prepare us for that unspeakable happiness!

"God bless you and Mrs. Chambers, and your whole family. So wishes,

"Your sincere friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

During his stay at Vepery, the excellent missionary visited the asylum for female orphans, which has been already mentioned[1] as established by Lady Campbell, of which he gave the following interesting account in a letter to Mr. Pasche.

"The house devoted to it is a considerable building, and was formerly in the possession of Colonel Wood.

"The children read to me, showed me their copy-books, their sewing and knitting, and recited their catechism. I expressed a wish to catechise them, (by extemporaneous questions,) but they were not accustomed to it. I observed, 'that mere learning by heart would be of very little use to the children.' 'True,' Lady Campbell answered, 'but where shall we find persons to catechise them in a useful manner?' I have often mentioned this subject since, and trust that God will point out the means.

[1] Page 83.

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"Some progress has been recently made towards the establishment of an asylum for boys. The necessary buildings will be ready in four or five weeks, and they will open it with one hundred boys. Both asylums have considerable funds: that for the girls forty thousand pagodas. Many hundreds, yea thousands of children, will be rescued from temporal misery by these institutions; and God grant they may be the means of saving them from spiritual ruin likewise! They are a great blessing to the children and the country. The Company contribute five rupees per month for each child. I solicited the governor to grant the same benefit to the children of European parents in Tanjore. He said, 'I will propose it to the Council, and give my voice for it.'"

On his return from Madras, Mr. Swartz visited his brethren and fellow labourers at Cuddalore and Tranquebar, preached to their congregations, and cheered them by his conversation, which, as they observed, "they always esteemed a blessing." From the latter station he wrote to the Society, and after mentioning the progress of the gospel there and at Palamcottah, he particularly notices the provincial schools, where Christianity was not expressly taught. "They consist chiefly," he informed them, "of children of Brahmins and merchants, who read and write English. Their intention, doubtless, is to learn the English

language, with a view to their temporal welfare; but they thereby become better acquainted with good principles. No deceitful methods are used to bring them over to the saving doctrines of Christ; though the most earnest wishes are entertained that they may all come to the knowledge of God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent."

"Some doubt has been entertained," said Dr. Vincent, speaking in his charge to Mr. Jœnicke of those provincial schools, "how far, as Christians, we are authorised to adopt a system, which though mediate, is not the immediate method of dispensing Christian knowledge. This is no time for discussing that question; but if the thing is done, and the natives understand it as an institution for teaching the language only, never break their confidence by seeking for converts here. Our religion is not to be advanced insidiously, but proposed boldly; and the first moral principle is good faith."

The nature of these institutions was, in fact, perfectly understood and approved by the natives, and they were attended with the happiest effects. The provincial school at Tanjore, in particular, was frequented by children of the first families; and the improvement of the scholars was very observable. These seminaries furnished many young men who were employed at Madras as writers with handsome salaries; and others who

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obtained considerable employments. It appears, however, from a subsequent account of one of these schools,[1] that Swartz anticipated some direct Christian benefits from their institution.

The general impression upon this subject, is strikingly marked in the following account of his interview with the rajah Ameer Sing, respecting the establishment of such a school at Combaconum, one of the principal seats of idolatry in Tanjore.

"I spoke," he observes, "with the rajah on the subject, but he seemed not to approve it, and afterwards sent to inform me of his disapprobation. I went to him and inquired how it was he did not approve it, especially when every one was left at liberty to have Hindoostanee, Persian, Mahratta, and Malabar schools. 'But,' I said, 'the true reason of your disapprobation is a fear that many would be converted to the Christian religion. I wish you would all devote yourselves to the service of the true God. I have assisted you in many troubles, and will you now treat me as an enemy? Is this right?' He answered, 'No: that is not my meaning; but it has never been the custom.' 'Ought it then,' I replied, 'always to remain so? There has been much done already, that never was the custom.' He said, 'Good, good, I will do it.'"

The following letter was addressed to Mrs.

[1] See p. 196.

Hippisley, and contains some excellent hints on the religious education of children. CHAP. XV. 1789.

"Tanjore, Sept. 16, 1789.

"DEAR MADAM,

"What an excellent correspondent are you! I have received three of your kind letters.

"I rejoice that you are well with your dear children. May they all grow up in a truly reverential fear of God; so that they may prove a blessing to their country, a joy to their parents, and an example of every virtue to their fellow-creatures. By this they will live to the glory of God, and at last be happy for ever. Amen, be it so!

"Your daily business is now to educate these lovely plants, and to rear them up in a truly Christian manner. (God forbid that they should be brought up in the present fashionable way!) No business is equal to that of educating children.

"I hope you tell them those excellent pieces of history recorded in the Scripture, with suitable remarks on them. I hope you bend your knees before God in conjunction with your children. You were not ashamed to do it at Katernat. When your children see such an example of piety in you, it will do them more real good than hearing a thousand sermons. I intreat you to let your children learn their religion from their Bible, and not from every new book. My most beloved teacher

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is St. Paul. Read his Epistle to the Romans, which exhibits a system of faith and morality.

"Some years ago a friend sent me a paraphrase on that Epistle, written by Thomas Adam, rector of Wintringham, in Lincolnshire, which has pleased me much; and I am sure it will please you. At present many doctors teach mankind to stand upon their own righteousness, neglecting the atonement made by Christ. But they must have an unspotted righteousness to stand before God, and where is that man who will dare to say, 'I never sinned—I am perfectly holy?' Consequently none should dare to appear before a righteous God without trusting in the atonement of Christ. You will find by experience that the doctrine of the atonement will incline you to be thankful, grateful, and obedient to all commandment.

"Mr. Hudlestone sent me, some years ago, Dr. Price's sermons, which almost totally destroyed the Christian doctrine. I cut the book in four pieces, and buried it before my door, that none by reading that book might be poisoned.[1]

"But now, my dear madam, I must mention

[1] Dr. Price, the celebrated dissenting minister, is the author here referred to. He was a professed Arian. Candid and benevolent as Swartz was, in the truest sense of those terms, he could not endure a doctrine which so directly derogates from the glory of Christ, and undermines the very foundation of the Christian redemption; but entered deeply into the spirit of the beloved apostle's injunction, 2 John 10.

the precious (and I must say the expensive) present of the books which you have sent me. The books no doubt are highly valuable, and therefore agreeable to me. But I have suffered much for my impudence—how shall I call it otherwise? All that I can say is no apology. I did not know that they were so voluminous.

"One whole night I have dreamt of this my presumption. I thought in my dream, Can't I find out something in return for the expensive trouble I have given to my friends? I awoke—and again the same thing came into my mind.

"You may say, 'Why will you dream so? don't mind it, because it was only a dream.' I confess it was a dream; but it was a strong proof that the thing must have made a deep impression on my waking mind; otherwise I could not have dreamt in such a manner. Now I can say no more than many many thanks to you.

"Your two acquaintances, Mrs. Knox and Mrs. Kinsey, are well. Mrs. Knox is at present in Madras, where she has found in Mrs. Duffin a most agreeable comforter. Mrs. Kinsey is at Trichinopoly. The two boys are still with me. Without injuring Captain K——, one may call him a trifler.

"Your two nurses are alive, and live upon your bounty. Your house at Katernat, as likewise that at Maricukoil, go to ruin, because none lives in

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them. I have not been able to hear of that girl who went with Mr. Sullivan's sister.

"God bless you and all your dear children. Next month I hope to write you again.

"I am, dear Madam,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The extracts which follow, from several letters written in the course of this year to Mrs. Duffin, at Madras, evince the animated and wakeful piety of Swartz, and illustrate, by the little details of familiar correspondence, the peculiar sweetness and benevolence of his character.

"Tanjore, Feb, 19, 1789.

"I arrived here on the 7th inst., having had a very pleasant journey. Blessed be God, who has preserved me during my absence from Tanjore! So we go from place to place, till our pilgrimage be ended. God grant that at last we may be able to say with Paul, 'I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.' Let us watch and pray that nothing may interrupt us. How many impediments lie in our way! But if we are strengthened by the Lord, all will be well. God bless you and all that are in your house, particularly Mr. D——. Tell —— to give her whole heart to Jesus; that though the body be weak,

the spirit may be strengthened and prepared for the day of Christ. The grace of our Lord Jesus, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all who take the cross of Christ upon them!"

"Sept. 10.

"Though I have not written to you these last few months, I have not forgotten you. No; I remember you and your family often, and wish that you may prosper in the way that leadeth unto life eternal.

"Here we are under apprehension of being molested by Tippoo. He has collected an army at Dindegal. Colonel Stewart is ordered to form a camp at Warriore to be in readiness if Tippoo should commence hostilities. We are but ill prepared in respect of provision. And though we have suffered much formerly by our neglect, nothing will make us wiser. And as it is in that respect, so in other articles likewise.

"But oh, if God were with us, we might be confident, trusting in his Almighty arm. But Him and his word we disregard shamefully, as if we needed him not. However, we are in his hands, to save or to chastise us. May we seek and find mercy in and for Jesus' sake!

"I hope you go on well in your female asylum, where Mr. Gericke, as I understand, has the in-

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spection. But I cannot learn who has the management of the male asylum.

God bless you and us all! May he be our light and salvation in all circumstances!"

"Sept. 25th.

"We all here rejoice at the happy change which —— has made. We join with you in wishing that she and her husband may be one in seeking the kingdom of God and his righteousness; for then he will direct and bless all other things. That divine pursuit of the best thing makes that state truly happy. Tell, therefore, our friend to persuade her husband by all gentle methods to read daily with her the word of God, and to keep up family prayer. Men sometimes indulge pride and stubbornness in this respect; but a friendly perseverance on her side will be blessed with good effects, though in the beginning impediments will tire us a little. But tell her not to give up that point, but *meekly* to persevere. I shall be very happy to hear of her and her husband's Christian course. I rejoice that you and my brother, Mr. Gericke, jointly work in improving the females in the asylum. May you find many (I wish all) of them in a blessed eternity! There shall we sing praises to our Redeemer for ever.

"Pray give my respectful compliments to Lady ——, the governess of the asylum. Tell

her that I wish she may be a true mother to that beneficial institution. May a merciful God awaken us to become vigorous Christians!" CHAP. XV. 1789.

Nov. 17th.

"Your last letter I should have answered much sooner, had I not waited for the arrival of the vessel on board of which you had sent a box for me, and two pieces of cloth for Mrs. K——. I showed your letter to her. She wished to get the cloth made up for her sons, whom she hoped to send to England. I believe she intends to conduct them to Madras next month. She wishes to live in your neighbourhood, as she is anxious to be retired. With the gay world she has nothing to do. She is a prudent mother, and her children are very agreeable, having been brought up in obedience to their parents, and in the fear of God.

"Is the new couple in your house? Do they rejoice your heart by their conduct? I hope you and Mr. D—— enjoy tolerable health; for, knowing your frequent ailments, I will not express it in stronger terms. I have suffered a good deal from a wrench, though I know not when and where I got it. However, all is for our benefit. These things put us in mind of our departure, which we must expect, and for which we are to prepare. Oh, what unspeakable happiness will

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it be, to be free from sin, pain, and sorrow, and to rejoice in the presence of God and all his children! There I hope I shall sing the praises of God and our Redeemer with you. Till then let us 'fight the good fight of faith,' laying hold on eternal life, till we enjoy it. My best wishes to my dear friend, Mr. D——, and all your household."

"Dec. 29th.

"Your last favour I have received. Since that, the chest arrived from Negapatam. The snuff, the pickle, the book, the hats, were all in good order. For all these new proofs of your repeated kindness, I thank you sincerely.

"Mrs. K—— will be with you in a few days. I hear that she will live in the fort. You will delight in the behaviour of her children, who have been brought up under the closest inspection of a careful mother.

"I have been informed of the severe illness of Mr. D——; but at the same time I have heard the agreeable news of his perfect recovery. No wonder if he feels himself weak, as he daily goes through so much fatigue. May God preserve his health to your comfort, and to the benefit of those who need his assistance! Every sickness reminds us of our end.

"We are now completing a whole year. How

fast passes away our time! At length, we must quit the whole period. However, let us only take care to finish our course with joy.

"When our Saviour was born, the angels proclaimed the intention of his coming into this world, viz. to glorify, or declare the glory of God; to establish peace on earth, good-will in and towards mankind.

"This treble blessing He procured for us. If we then, by a lively faith in our Redeemer, partake of these three inestimable mercies, so as to glorify God for his goodness, and to enjoy that peace, which Jesus, by suffering and dying for us, has obtained, surely we shall have a good-will towards God and men, and be truly happy.[1]

"This happiness I sincerely wish to you and Mr. D——, and to all that belong to your house.

"I am, constantly

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

[1] This was evidently a favourite train of thought with the venerable missionary. The reader will recognise the similarity of these sentiments with the subject of one of his sermons.

CHAPTER XVI.

Misgovernment of Ameer Sing—Mr. Petrie sent to Tanjore—Complaint as to the rajah's treatment of Serfojee—Measures consequent upon it—Result of them—Letter of Swartz to the governor of Madras, and his plan for the better administration of justice in Tanjore—His advice respecting the management of the revenue—His letter to government in vindication of his conduct, in relation to Serfojee—He is consulted as to the adjustment of the revenue accounts—His letters to Sir Charles Oakley, respecting the general management of the country—Confidence of the governor and council of Madras in Mr. Swartz.

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It will now be necessary to revert to the public affairs of Tanjore, and the conduct of the new rajah. It has been already stated, that, upon his accession to the throne, the government of Fort St. George addressed to him a letter of counsel and advice, particularly calling his attention to the state of the revenue, and to the administration of justice among his subjects. Notwithstanding this friendly admonition, it appears that, at the commencement of the year 1788, Mr. Swartz re-

ported to the government that Ameer Sing was managing his affairs so injudiciously, that the very worst consequences were to be expected; that he was alienating his lands in an extravagant and improvident manner; that he entirely neglected the administration of justice; and that unless some means were adopted to check the profusion and folly of the rajah, and of his sirkeel, or manager, Shevarow, the most ruinous results were to be apprehended.

In consequence of this communication, Mr. Petrie, one of the members of the Madras council, proceeded as commissioner to Tanjore, and Mr. Swartz was requested to render him the assistance which his knowledge and influence in the country would enable him to afford. Mr. Petrie's first object, on his arrival, was to procure the dismissal of the obnoxious minister, Shevarow; but, failing in this, he persuaded the rajah to associate with him two other respectable natives, as managers of the revenue, who should become responsible to the Company for the payment of the subsidy, for the more prudent administration of the affairs, and for the allotment of a just proportion of the produce to the inhabitants of the country. It was also agreed that Mr. Swartz should have the superintendence of the court of justice, which, in consequence of his repeated solicitations, the rajah had consented to establish

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at Tanjore; that he should be made acquainted with the causes which came under the cognizance of that court, and that a weekly report of its proceedings should be delivered to him, which he should remit to the British resident, whose powers were enlarged, to enable him effectually to secure these important ends.

By these judicious arrangements, considerable advantages were obtained, both in the more regular management of the revenue, and in some slight appearance of a better administration of justice; but these improvements were only temporary, and were unhappily counteracted by the rajah, and his favourite, Shevarow.

Besides his mal-administration of the affairs of government, and his failure in the stipulated payments to the Company, another subject of complaint against Ameer Sing about this time arose, which cannot be better stated than in the following report from the resident to the government of Madras :—

"I lament the occasion which obliges me again to address you on the treatment shown by his excellency to Serfojee, the adopted heir of the late rajah.

"Though my representations to you on this subject have been no less frequent than forcible; and though your admonitions, in consequence, to the rajah have been such as the situation of the

boy demanded; those admonitions have not been attended with the desired effect.

"In addition to the knowledge Mr. Swartz and myself have of his situation, the widows of the late rajah have stated the condition in which he is held, and have called upon me, as representative of the honourable Company here, to procure for him that protection which has hitherto been refused him by the present rajah.

"He remains still deprived not only of all education, but also of free air, exercise and attendance. There being no prospect of a favourable change in his situation, humanity induces me to hope that some effectual mode of interposition may suggest itself to you, by which the boy may receive the protection he so well merits from the justice of the honourable Company.

"I beg leave to add, that the Rev. Mr. Swartz (whom Tuljajee, on his death-bed, appointed guardian to Serfojee) might, with propriety, be constituted the judge of his condition; and while *he* approved of the treatment shown by his excellency, the child would be secure of every protection the honourable Company could desire to obtain for him."

On this communication, the following minute was recorded.

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"The board approve the suggestion of Mr. Macleod respecting the appointing the Rev. Mr. Swartz guardian to the adopted son of the late rajah of Tanjore; and it is accordingly agreed that a copy of the foregoing letter be sent to Mr. Petrie, and that he be desired to pay every attention to the subject contained in it."

In consequence of this recognition of Mr. Swartz, as guardian of the adopted son of the late rajah, he had access to him from time to time, and acquainted the resident with his state; who, in a letter to the government secretary, dated 12th of August, 1789, reported it as follows:—

"You will be pleased to acquaint the honourable the President and Council, that on the 8th inst. Mr. Swartz and myself had an interview with the adopted son of the late rajah. He appeared to be in good health, though a gloom hung upon his countenance. His place of confinement is spacious, though I believe he is never permitted to come out of it. He told us, upon inquiry, that he had no masters given him to instruct him, complained of his confinement, and wished to go to the house of his mother,—so he calls the widow of the late rajah.

"I had before told Shevarow, that at least he should be permitted to have the exercise of riding

within the walls of the palace. Shevarow's answer was, that he had repeatedly, but in vain, recommended it to the rajah. But it is much to be doubted whether he would say any thing so much against the rajah's inclinations."

On the receipt of this letter, the governor addressed one to the rajah, which contained the following paragraph; and the resident was directed to observe the treatment of Serfojee.

"I have been informed that the adopted son of the late rajah is kept by your excellency under close confinement, and deprived of the means of an education suitable to his rank and condition. This I think proper to mention to your excellency, not doubting that you will order him to be set at liberty, and allow him free access to his adopted mother, and the other branches of his family; that proper care may be taken of his education, and that his health may not suffer by confinement.

"To a friend, what can I say more?"

In September 1789, the resident presented the governor's letter to the rajah, at an interview, of which he made the following report to the government.

"His excellency appeared to be much moved

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with what I said respecting the treatment due to the adopted son of the late rajah, which he considered as an interference in his domestic arrangements. He affirmed that the boy had proper clothes, food, and medical assistance, when he wanted it, and was better treated by his excellency than he himself had been by his brother, the late rajah. Nevertheless, that the English had not interfered with the late rajah, to alleviate his confinement; that the boy had a schoolmaster, but was of an obstinate disposition, and disinclined to learn. And here he produced a man, whom he called a schoolmaster, who confirmed his account. But as this was in the presence of the rajah and Shevarow, no great dependence can be placed on his report."

On the 25th of September, the governor of Madras wrote the following letter.

"To his excellency, the rajah of Tanjore.

"Many complaints having been made to me that Serfojee, the adopted son of the late rajah, is not only treated with much severity, but that his education is totally neglected; which being contrary to those liberal sentiments of equity and justice which the honourable Company are ever desirous to promote and inculcate, I have been

induced to intercede in his behalf. Your excellency will be pleased to allow him to occupy a separate dwelling, contiguous to that of his adopted mother, the widow of the late rajah, free from every restraint of his person; as it is proper that he should be permitted to see his adopted mother, and to visit or receive visits from his other relations, without any obstruction or hindrance, whenever he thinks proper. I have accordingly directed that he shall be allowed a small guard of Company's sepoys to attend on his person; and I most earnestly recommend it to your excellency to treat him with kindness, and to discourage every species of oppression towards him or the widows of the late rajah, either in their persons or property.

"To a friend, what can I say more?"

On the 5th of October, the resident informed the government that he had endeavoured to obtain an interview with the rajah, for the purpose of presenting the above letter, which he had evaded on the plea of sickness; that on Sunday Mr. Swartz declined to act as interpreter; and that on the following day the rajah again declined to grant an audience, on the plea of illness. The presentation of the letter was therefore deferred; but the resident proposed, under all the

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circumstances of the case, that a house which was next door to that of Serfojee's mother should be fitted up, and that he should be removed from the palace, and placed in that house. The government approved this proposal, and directed that it should be immediately carried into effect.

Of the subsequent proceedings, the following report was transmitted to the Madras government a few days afterwards, by Mr. Ram, who had succeeded Mr. Macleod, as resident at Tanjore.

" Having obtained an interview with the rajah, I found Shevarow present as usual. I stated that I was informed it was by his counsel that Serfojee was continued in confinement, notwithstanding the repeated admonitions of government, and the positive promise of his excellency to Mr. Petrie, that he should be released in eight months; that I now came to deliver a more explicit order upon that head; a compliance with which I must earnestly recommend to his excellency, not only as the mandate of this presidency, but as the earnest wish of the English in general; for that Sir Archibald Campbell, having set aside the adoption of Serfojee, in favour of his excellency's better title to the musnud of his late brother, the English must, in consequence, consider

themselves as in honour bound to protect him from every degree of oppression.

"The rajah acknowledged his promise to Mr. Petrie, and affirmed that it had been his design to find out a suitable match for Serfojee, that he might be married at the same time with his own son-in-law, after which, he allowed the present restraint would be improper, but was now agreeable to their customs; that the mother of the boy (by adoption) had herself objected to a match proposed by him, on the plea that the parties were too young, which had prevented his carrying his intentions into effect, as he had proposed to Mr. Petrie; that, however, in six months more he would, without fail, accomplish them; that in the mean time it would be highly repugnant to their customs for a youth of Serfojee's age to visit the apartment of the widow of the late rajah; that if I doubted any part of what he now affirmed, I might, if I thought proper, have an opportunity of conversing with the widow, she being concealed from my sight. To this I replied, that I could never conceive it agreeable to their customs to confine their children in a place where they could not have the free benefits of light and air; that, therefore, it was highly necessary that Serfojee should be placed in the house mentioned in the honourable president's letter, which I understood had been

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built by the late rajah purposely for his accommodation; that if his visiting the widows of Tuljajee was repugnant to their customs, I could not suppose those ladies would suffer it; and without their permission it would be impossible for him to see them.

"The conference running to a great length, the rajah requested I would excuse him for the present, but allow Mr. Swartz to come to the palace the next day; by which time, having considered what I had said, he would communicate his sentiments to him. To this I readily consented, imagining that a less embarrassed communication of sentiments, which would take place when Mr. Swartz only was present, would be more likely to prevail on the rajah to comply with the sentiments of the honourable president, and placing the utmost confidence in the good missionary's discretion and zeal for the service. Yesterday evening the conference took place; and the following is his communication of it to me, immediately after his return from the palace.

"The rajah began, of his own accord, on the subject of Serfojee, and gave the strongest assurances that in a very short time he would so act as to give entire satisfaction; and that we being on the spot, should be witnesses and judges of it. Mr. Swartz then observed that it must be by

releasing Serfojee from the present dark and dismal place of his confinement, to which the rajah assented, but declined being more particular, repeating his assurances that he was certain we should be satisfied with his conduct. With respect to Shevarow, he affirmed that he had been calumniated, and hoped that he would be able to clear himself to my satisfaction. I had given a short memorandum to Mr. Swartz, of the points I wished to be satisfied on—one of which was, to obtain information respecting a late grant from the rajah of a considerable district to his son-in-law; on the impropriety of which, at a time when he could not pay his kists, (instalments to the Company,) I desired him to remark. The rajah admitted that he had made such a grant, but defended it on the ground that a similar provision had been allowed for the son-in-law of the late rajah.

"Notwithstanding that Mr. Swartz appeared to place some confidence in the above assurances of the rajah respecting Serfojee, I must own they appear to me rather evasive, and calculated to gain time; but of that the honourable board will be more capable of judging."

About a week after the preceding communication, the resident received an order from the governor of Madras to remove Serfojee from the

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immediate controul of the rajah; of his execution of which the following is his official report.

"I shall proceed to relate the steps by which the situation of Serfojee has been so considerably altered for the better. The letter of Mr. Chamier of the 16th, arrived about noon, on the 20th. I requested an interview with his excellency for the day following, which being granted, I repaired to the palace, accompanied by Colonel Stuart and Mr. Swartz. Having desired that Serfojee might be brought into our presence, which was with some difficulty complied with, (the rajah apprehending that he might charge him with neglect of his education to his face,) I took the youth by the hand, and having declared your orders that he should be removed from the palace, I was proceeding to conduct him out, but was prevented by the violent agitation of the rajah, who took hold of my other hand, and of my clothes, conjuring me not to disgrace him so much in the sight of his people. I endeavoured to make his excellency comprehend that the step I was taking was for his own reputation, which suffered by the treatment hitherto observed towards Serfojee. It would be needless to repeat all that passed during a couple of hours. The rajah at length finding me resolved, either to take the boy out of the palace, or to place him

under the protection of the Company's sepoys within, after affirming that the proper house could not be prepared for him under seven, then three days, and at last by the next day, most solemnly promised that it should be done; upon which I retired, leaving Serfojee under the protection of Mr. Swartz, near to whom it was settled he should sleep for that night.

"The next morning he, for the first time since his confinement, saw the sun! Between eight and nine I returned to the palace, and about eleven we were joined by Colonel Stuart; about one, having notice that the house was nearly cleaned out, and Serfojee's furniture removed there, with the rajah's consent, who did not appear, I conducted him to it, and placed a guard of twelve sepoys of the 23rd over him. I have ordered a proper person, recommended by Mr. Swartz, a Mahratta Brahmin, named Dadarow, to attend to his education, which has been entirely neglected, he not being acquainted even with the alphabet. The person before mentioned has likewise been instructed to prevent such discourse being held in his presence as might tend to put ambitious thoughts into his head, upon his present enlargement. Serfojee expressed his gratitude for the favour shown him, and was desired by me to send his acknowledgments to the rajah for his ready compliance with your orders.

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The admitting of the sepoys to this part of the palace was long disputed. On the evening of the 21st, the rajah requested that my peons might be stationed in lieu of them; but this appearing to me as a very insufficient security, I persisted in my first position; and having sent for the sepoys the next day, no further objection was made.

"Mr. Swartz was of opinion that after what had passed, Serfojee ought to have his provisions furnished by the rajah's widows, to which his excellency has made no kind of objection. Indeed I understand that having been taken under the protection of the Company, his food may be provided by any one he chooses.

"Mr. Swartz is likewise of opinion that a discontinuance of the guard would be attended with some risk to the person of Serfojee.

"The house in which he now is, has been somewhat encumbered by buildings since the time of the late rajah. It is, however, pleasantly situated, and has a small garden adjoining.

"I have great hopes that the enlargement of the boy being thus effected, will remove the improper influence which Shevarow had obtained over the rajah, by persuading him that whilst his excellency adhered to his counsels, the release of Serfojee would never be effected."

1790. In the month of February, 1790, the resident,

in announcing to the governor in council at Fort St. George, the arrival of despatches from the Court of Directors very favourable to the interests of the rajah of Tanjore, submitted to the board, whether it might not be proper to take that opportunity of urging upon his excellency the performance of his promise to Sir Archibald Campbell, to reform the administration of justice, but which had been entirely forgotten or neglected since his inauguration.

"The good Mr. Swartz," the resident observes, "having frequently lamented the mischiefs which are daily happening for want of a regular system of justice, (with that knowledge which his long acquaintance with the language and manners of the country has given him,) has favoured me with his thoughts upon that important subject, which I have the honour to enclose. The want of such regulations are daily before my eyes. Any man in the Tanjore country (who has the power) ties up and tortures whomsoever he pleases, on the most frivolous pretences."

Of these acts of oppression and injustice, the resident then mentions some gross instances, which clearly proved the inability of the rajah himself, under the present corrupt system, to restrain and punish such atrocities. The letter from Mr Swartz to the governor in council, referred to by the resident, is as follows.

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"HON. SIR, AND GENTLEMEN;

"Permit me humbly to address you, in behalf of this country, of which you are constituted guardians and defenders, and in whose prosperity or distress you are concerned.

"Every government is to be supported by a rational administration of justice, without which both king and subjects cannot prosper. This proposition needs no proof, being self-evident. All nations confirm it, at least in theory; experience, nay, all history, gives us the strongest proof, that a country without justice is a ruined country.

"When, some years ago, the spirit of despotic cruelty drove the people to despair, the late rajah promised to alleviate the burthens of his people, and to introduce a better administration of justice. And as the people, so often deceived and oppressed, entertained strong doubts of the truth of this noble and exhilarating promise, he empowered me to publish it in writing, and to become responsible for the accomplishment of it. The people rejoiced, returned from their emigration to their own country, set about the cultivation with a wonderful ardour, though it was very late in the season, so that many were afraid of a famine; and by their cheerful exertions, were blessed with a very rich crop.

"The late rajah soon after this died. Before his

successor was seated on the throne, I intreated Sir Archibald Campbell to benefit the country by introducing a better administration of justice. Fully convinced of the propriety of my request, he desired me to draw up a plan by which this might be accomplished according to the laws of the Hindoos.

"I obeyed this command with all possible cheerfulness, representing to myself the beneficial effects which the country would from hence experience. But on one point I entertained an opinion which differed from Sir Archibald Campbell's sentiments. He, out of delicacy, thought it proper to let the present rajah have the honour of establishing such a court of judicature. I represented to him that without derogating from the good will of the rajah, so many ill-disposed people would surround him, and hinder an institution, beneficial indeed to the country, but diametrically opposite to their self-interested views, that the whole plan would be soon laid aside. On the other hand, if, during the interregnum, such a court of justice should be established, and by the English government protected and encouraged, as might easily be done, it would succeed and prosper. But Sir A. Campbell thought otherwise. The plan was recommended to the rajah after he was seated on the throne, but was soon strongly opposed at the instigation of his servants.

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"A faint show, indeed, was made. A small house was appointed, where four judges should hear causes. It was at first open, but soon a cross wall was built, so that none could observe the proceedings.

"One or two of the judges had a laudable desire to act impartially; but their good intentions were frustrated by the servants of the rajah. The judges were obliged to wait for leave to hear a law-suit. When they had got permission, and hardly had begun to inquire into the business, they were frequently interrupted by messages from the rajah's servants. They were desired not to go on. Particularly those dubashes who had lent money to the rajah, acted as masters. They had the power of confining and punishing people, and whoever was supported by them, let his cause be never so unjust, came off victorious—of all which unjust proceedings whole volumes might be written. If an inquiry should be set on foot, many instances would fully prove the total want of justice in this country. One man was supported by Chinnia Moodely (a powerful money-lender.) The injustice of his interfering was so glaring to the judges, to the rajah and his minister, that Shevarow said, 'What can I do when Chinnia intercedes for the unjust party?' Another inhabitant was prosecuted by Chinnia; he retired with many others to Karikal, but got the rajah's cowl, at

Mr. Ram's request, to come and speak for himself. He came, was acquitted, and went home. Chinnia hearing this at Madras, sent a letter ordering that person to be confined and beaten, and even now he is still under confinement. The sirkeel promised to release him, but being afraid of Chinnia's resentment, did not think it proper to accomplish his promise.

"The judges feeling their own want of power, entreated the rajah to permit them to retire, because their endeavours to do justice became totally useless.

"This being the injurious method of acting, the inhabitants became disheartened and unwilling to go on vigorously in the cultivation. Last year many promises were made to them, but never fulfilled. Those given by the late rajah before his decease, are totally disregarded. Before the inhabitants reap, they are obliged to pay a part of their tribute; having no money, they go to the rapacious dubashes to borrow at exorbitant interest; not being able to pay it, that is added to the original sum, and a new premium is often charged. When Mr. Petrie was here, an order was issued that none should pay more than twelve per cent. per annum, but soon disregarded. No country, though the most fertile, is able to bear such oppressions.

"And as no relief is to be expected from hence,

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it would be the highest benefit which government could bestow on this oppressed country, if, without lessening the authority of the rajah, it should privately insist upon the introduction of justice in a regular manner, before the alleviation made by the honourable Company was published. It would then rejoice the rajah, and the inhabitants, if both points, viz. the kindness of the honourable Company to the rajah, and his kindness in establishing a court of justice, were published at the same time.

"As the late rajah appointed me guardian to Serfojee, the young boy whom he adopted, and as government confirmed it by enjoining me to watch over his welfare, I take the liberty to entreat the honourable board to settle his establishment. The first act done by taking him out of the miserable situation in which he was, is very great. To procure for him a suitable settlement will complete his temporal happiness. The rajah does not seem to be very willing to do that business of his own accord.

"Having nothing in view but the happiness of the rajah and his country, and the honour of the Company, both which would undoubtedly be promoted by a regular and impartial administration of justice, I hope that the honourable board will not disapprove of this my liberty which I have humbly taken of addressing them. Being in the

country, under the protection of the English government, I wish and pray for their welfare. And lest this my address might appear as a clandestine business, I have sent it by Mr. Ram, our resident here.

"I am, with profound respect, &c. &c.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The following is the plan for the administration of justice in the fort and country of Tanjore, which was proposed by Mr. Swartz; and though the state of this important branch of civil policy has been long since improved in that as well as in other parts of India, it will serve to point out the abuses and defects which then existed, as well as to illustrate the sagacity, and the practical wisdom of the excellent missionary.

"To prove the necessity of administering justice in order to promote the welfare of a country, is quite needless. It is so clear, and well understood, that no one disputes it. That justice is unknown in Tanjore, is equally acknowledged and lamented by all the inhabitants. In order to establish its due administration,

"1st. His excellency the rajah should give a general, full, and positive order to the judges, to decide all complaints according to justice; and this order is to be deemed a sufficient authority,

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without further communication from any one; without such an authority, the whole will be rendered of no utility.

"2nd. A proper place, (not a corner in the palace, where nothing but bribery and corruption has hitherto prevailed,) but a spacious and open place, accessible to all, should be chosen and adapted to the business, where every one concerned in a suit may have free admittance to see and hear every step that is taken in his cause. The palace people (who are mortal enemies to equity and justice) will say, nay, they have said, that boys and idle persons will run into such an open place; but one or two sentries would be sufficient to prevent all irregularities of that kind.

"3rd. People of knowledge and probity should be chosen to be judges. A knowledge of the customs of this country and its laws, is absolutely necessary, that all decisions may be agreeable thereto; even an honest man, without such knowledge of their laws, would be a very improper person to decide in their disputes.

"4th. These judges should be strictly ordered not to receive any present from the contending parties; consequently they should have a proper salary regularly paid them.

"5th. Judges found guilty of receiving any bribe, should be punished, and that in an exem-

plary manner, and rendered incapable of acting as such in future, that others may be deterred from the like guilt.

"6th. Two writers should be kept to record every petition which the contending parties may deliver in to the judges; those petitions should be numbered, and the day set down on which they were delivered. Some peons ought to be kept and paid for the summoning of witnesses, or of any of the contending parties.

"7th. When any complaint is presented, in writing, the injury complained of should be specified, and the witnesses to prove it should be mentioned by name. This method would shorten the altercation and facilitate the decision.

"8th. A proper time should be appointed for receiving petitions and hearing suits.

"9th. Nothing but the subject of the petition, which the injured persons give in, and the answer of the opposite party, which should likewise be in writing, should, in any way, influence the judges. All intercessions from the palace, from the women of the palace, from dubashes, &c. should be totally discontinued; for this practice has hitherto obstructed justice. No person whatever should be allowed to hinder the course of justice, and every one should be mulcted in a proper fine, that would dare to screen or conceal a guilty person.

"10th. His excellency will be pleased once a

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month to appear in public, giving notice to the resident, and other respectable persons, that they may attend, whilst the judges gave in an account of their decisions of the last month before that assembly, that it may be known whether any, even the poorest person, has been neglected.

"11th. When any of the contending parties are fined, the money should be set aside for the public use; for instance, to pay the peons, &c. who are employed about the court.

"12th. No person ought to be hindered or debarred from giving in his complaint. This circumstance alone shows the necessity of having an open place, with a spacious spandal before it, under which people who are related to the contending parties may be allowed to hear the discussion and decision of their suits.

"13th. As the merchants in this place are often forced to part with their goods without receiving ready money, which is not paid, perhaps, in six, seven, or eight months, these merchants ought more especially to be assisted by the court, for the better encouragement of trade.

"14th. Disputes in the country are commonly decided by arbitrators; and as long as arbitrators are permitted to act without being influenced by those about the palace, no other judges will be wanted. But if they should interfere, then the

country people ought to be permitted to appeal to the court of justice at Tanjore.

" 15th. Strict orders should be given to the judges not to make any unreasonable delay in hearing and deciding any suit. Many people have hitherto been kept in suspense for one, two, or three years; by which they and their families have been ruined.

" 16th. As the taking high interest and premiums has ruined many families, the interest that may lawfully be taken in the country ought to be regulated; and those who presume to transgress the regulation, ought to be punished. At the same time the lenders ought to be assisted in recovering their property.

" 17th. All the money which guilty persons are condemned to pay, ought to be put in a chest, with three locks; the keys to be kept by three different persons, to prevent embezzlement.

" 18th. The whole plan, after it has been digested and corrected, ought to be published; and translations of it, in the principal languages, should be affixed to the gates of the Fort, so that none may plead ignorance."

The wisdom and expediency of such an administration of justice as Mr. Swartz thus recommended, could not be doubted. It was cordially

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approved by the resident, who declared his conviction that, were it carried into effect, it would prove "an inexpressible benefit to the country;" but it was unhappily so opposed to the corrupt views and practices of the rajah's ministers, and of those who, having supplied him with money, had obtained undue influence over him, that it was found impracticable to accomplish it.

Ameer Sing had, in fact, consigned the management of the country to five or six of these rapacious agents; the consequences of which were most oppressive to the people, and detrimental to his own interests, by lessening his revenue, and rendering him incapable of fulfilling his engagements with the Company. Mr. Swartz having, under these circumstances, been requested by the Madras government to give his advice, thus expressed his sentiments, in a letter to the resident at Tanjore, dated May 8th, 1790.

"Not being able to bear such oppression," (alluding to the conduct of the rajah's managers,) "the inhabitants have often quitted their houses. Even a few days since, many of the principal people addressed you, imploring the Company's protection.

"The present sirkeel, Shevarow, has neither intellect nor integrity to manage the country.

"The revenue is spent, or squandered away, so that, at the least, they can give no account of it.

"As the rajah is not versed in reading or arithmetic, he knows nothing but what his servants or minions are pleased to tell him.

"How often has he been entreated to bless his country with the introduction of justice, of which I drew up a plan at Sir Archibald Campbell's desire, which was offered to the rajah; but though he allows the utility, nay necessity of it, he has not firmness of mind to put it into execution, because he knows that his servants are against it.

"Could he be persuaded to introduce justice, and consequently encourage industry, his revenue would be augmented wonderfully. But when the people lose all their labour, they become desponding and indolent.

"As this is the true, but melancholy state of the country, I cannot think that the rajah will be able to make good his stipulated payment to the honourable Company.

"But should he really pay it by the help of the above-mentioned dubashes, and their friends, then I tremble at the consequences for the poor inhabitants.

"Surely so many as 100,000 people were not created to satisfy the rapaciousness of plundering money-lenders. And if there should be any even slight invasion of the enemy, the damage done by them would be exaggerated, and the promised payment interrupted.

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"Considering all those things, it appears to me advisable to appoint Baba, the late sirkeel, inspector and collector of the revenue, or, at least, inspector of all the accounts; to protect him in the discharge of this office; to restrain him from cruelty and oppression; to allow the inhabitants to lay their complaints before appointed judges; to take the strictest care of doing justice to the oppressed, and punishing, in an exemplary manner, the oppressor.

"Such an administration of justice, being once established, government will find it easy to preserve the continuation of it.

"Should this happen, Tanjore will become a most happy country. Industry will exert itself; the rajah's revenue will be augmented, and his dignity founded upon its proper basis.

"But it will be objected, that Baba was formerly a grievous oppressor. I allow it; and he smarts for it. But it is certain that he did his master's will, who, towards the end of his life, grew too fond of money. This is true; for when Baba managed single districts, as subadar, he acted to the satisfaction of the inhabitants.

"However, the remembrance of his former oppression is a good reason why he should be put under proper control. Having suffered so much, it is to be hoped that he has learned some wisdom.

"It is undoubtedly true that he knows the country better than any body else; that he knows the usual produce of every village; that he is perfectly acquainted with the general and particular accounts, and therefore a competent judge of the revenue.

"Should that man be allowed to inspect, or revise the accounts of the two last years, the present sirkeel and his friends would have reason to tremble; and if they were enjoined to restore that which they have taken unjustly, the rajah would pay off his balance with great ease. But if this proposal should be entirely or partly approved by the honourable board, it would, I think, be advisable not only to ask Baba whether he would take that charge upon him, but likewise to recommend it to the rajah, and *insist* upon his concurrence, so that it might, in some measure, appear as an act of his own. To facilitate the whole, one or two bad advisers should be removed, who by engaging the rajah in some favourite pleasures, captivate his mind to his and his country's ruin.

"Be so kind as to forward this my letter to the honourable board, with my humble respects.

"I am, &c. &c.

"C. F. Swartz."

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In the month of June the government of Fort St. George was informed, that Chinnia Moodely was, by his agents, oppressing the inhabitants of a district in Tanjore to such an extent, as would speedily lead to its depopulation.

Mr. Swartz was, in consequence, desired to ascertain the facts. He accordingly sent a confidential hircarrah, who reported that the principal inhabitants had left the place, and were gone into the nabob's country; that Chinnia Moodely had recalled a polygar, who had been expelled by Baba for robberies; and that this man had been again let loose on the district, and was committing depredations on the inhabitants; that a Portuguese, with an armed force, had been employed in the work of oppression; that there was then no sign of cultivation, and that the banks and watercourses were out of repair.

In the following month the rajah was reported to be in ill health, and admitted no person to his presence, except Mr. Swartz, who obtained an audience, and delivered to him a letter, which had been written to him by the government, complaining of the mal-administration of the rajah's servants, and calling for the payment of his kists; which latter were, after some discussion, paid in part. It was at this time proposed to the rajah, with a view to the reform of his administration, and the peace of the country, to place the collec-

tion of the revenue in the hands of the East India Company.

In August, 1790, in consequence of the conduct of Mr. Swartz in the recovery of Serfojee from the oppressive custody of the rajah having been the subject of animadversion, he laid before the government a narrative of the proceedings respecting that important measure; and though they have been previously detailed, some circumstances relative to the situation of the young prince, and to his own interference in his behalf, are added in his letter to Mr. Chamier, on this occasion, which deserve to be recorded.

After relating the history of the rajah Tuljajee's adoption of a son, his request to him to be his guardian, his advice to the rajah to appoint his brother, his accession to the throne on the setting aside of Serfojee, and the complaints of Ameer Sing's severe treatment of him, Mr. Swartz thus proceeds:—

"An order having come from government to Mr. Macleod, and I think to Colonel Stuart, to inquire into the treatment which the boy had met with, both gentlemen sent me to the palace to see him; whom I found in a dark room, a lamp burning at his side, and no fresh air could reach it. When I saw him thus, I felt a grief which I can hardly express. With amiable simplicity, he

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asked me whether the children in Europe were deprived of seeing the sun and the moon. I comforted him. I then inquired whether he had any master to teach him reading and writing. Shevarow, who was present, said immediately, 'Yes, yes, he has a man to teach him!' I asked the boy; who replied, in the presence of Shevarow, 'I have none to teach me; therefore I do not know one letter.'

"Government ordered me frequently to visit him, and to inquire how he was kept. But I have not been able to do so above five or six times; because I could not get permission.

"For two years I entreated the rajah, privately, and often in the presence of Shevarow, to show kindness to the innocent boy; to give him a room where there was a circulation of air; not to be jealous of him, assuring him that he could do him no harm; that if he would show some kindness to him, and let him sometimes enjoy fresh air, all complaints would cease."

Mr. Swartz then mentions the ineffectual admonition of Sir Archibald Campbell to the rajah, and his own repeated entreaties upon this subject; and finally details the proceedings consequent upon the order of Governor Holland, by which Serfojee was rescued. In this part of his narrative, the following passage occurs, which

illustrates his calm fearlessness in the fulfilment of what he conceived to be his duty, and the inviolable integrity of this excellent man.

" The rajah desired that Mr. Ram might wait some (I think ten) days. He said, 'I must obey the order, and put the boy under a sepoy guard!' The rajah at last said, 'Mr. Swartz, stay *you* here with the boy this night, that the sepoys may not be called into this interior part of the palace!' I asked Mr. Ram and the colonel what I should do. They said, that 'it depended upon me; but that they were content with my staying with the boy!' I accordingly consented to stay. Mr. Ram and the colonel went away. The rajah, Shevarow, and myself, were alone. I then said, 'This uneasiness his excellency oweth to *you*, Shevarow. You intended to ingratiate yourself by those cruel severities which you made the boy to suffer. How often have I begged you to desist; how often have I told you, that the honourable Company, and the English nation, to whose protection the boy was delivered by the late rajah, in the presence of Mr. Hudleston, Colonel Stuart, and me, would not suffer those severities?' Shevarow said, 'You have told us all this, but,' &c. The rajah then observed, 'As you are our friend, why did you not this very morning send me word that such an order had been sent to Mr. Ram?' I

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replied, 'Ten days ago I entreated you to prevent the present uneasiness; and that was an act of friendship. But to give you notice of government's letter, after it had been confidentially communicated to the colonel and me, would have been treachery, which your excellency must never expect from me.

"The rajah and Shevarow then told me, I might go home. Astonished at this proposition, 'What!' said I, 'to become guilty of a breach of faith? Even my father should not be permitted to make such a proposal!' Upon this declaration, they left me with precipitation; and I remained with the poor boy that night, who, as I observed, walked as if he was lame. I inquired the reason of it. 'I have not,' said he, 'been able to sleep, but have been sitting clasping my hands about my knees, on account of the innumerable insects in my room. My sinews are a little contracted, but I hope I shall soon recover.' The next day he was conducted to his new apartment by Colonel Stuart and Mr. Ram. The indignities which were then offered to him I will not minutely relate; but they all showed the high degree of the rajah's jealousy.

"A Brahmin, who formerly taught Mr. Burke, and afterwards Mr. Blackburne, the Mahratta language, was appointed (by my recommendation) to teach him reading and writing. His excel-

lency's letter says, that *my servants* were employed for that purpose. But the writer of that letter knew that the Brahmin had never been my servant. The boy has made a good use of the opportunity given to him. He reads and writes the Mahratta language, and is very willing to learn English. The letter says, that Mr. Ram visited the boy, and that I accompanied him; which is true. I inquired how he improved in learning, and admonished the Brahmin not to be remiss in teaching him; which I thought was quite agreeable to the late rajah's desire."

Mr. Swartz then defends his recommendation of Baba in a very satisfactory and characteristic manner.

"Concerning Baba, his excellency asked me whether I had recommended him to the honourable board. 'Yes!' said I; 'not to be sirkeel, but inspector of the accounts of the country, for which he is well qualified. However, if Baba should ever be employed, he must be under control. His excellency, and particularly Chinnia, said, 'that they could prove that Baba had embezzled money, and that the inhabitants would give evidence, and had given it.' I said, 'Not during the last two years; for then you could prove nothing. But within these few days, since you heard of Baba having been recommended to

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the honourable board, then you were seeking something against him. When he was confined, you sought evidence against him, but found none. You desired him to pay fifty thousand rupees, promising to release him out of his grave (for his prison was a hole of six feet long, four broad, and four high, just like a small monument over a grave.) He sold his houses, and borrowed money to get his liberty.' Chinnia replied, 'Oh, he has two lacs of chuckerams at Karikal and Negapatam.' I said, 'Fie upon you, Chinnia!' These are the very words of our conversation. His excellency's letter says that they convinced me of Baba's having embezzled money. If saying so, and convincing me, become synonymous terms, I admit it, but not otherwise."

In September, Mr. Swartz appears to have been the active intermediate agent between the government and the rajah, relative to the adjustment of the revenue accounts.

In this month, it was considered to be necessary, for the security of the Company's interests, to assume the management of the revenues of Tanjore; against which the rajah protested, and appealed to the Court of Directors. It appears that, in the whole of the proceedings, Mr. Swartz was consulted, as noticed by Messrs. Ram and Fallo-

field, the resident and collector, in the following paragraph of a letter, dated the 28th of September 1790.

"The Rev. Mr. Swartz was consulted agreeably to the Board's orders, upon every material step we have hitherto taken; a line of conduct we shall continue invariably to pursue."

It is important to add, that the rajah himself, in his correspondence with the government, expressed a decided preference to Mr. Swartz as the medium of communication between them.

On the 24th of the same month, the government directed Messrs. Ram and Fallofield to transmit their sentiments as to the provision which should be made for Serfojee, and for the mother and widows of the late rajah, in order that steps might be taken to establish a liberal and permanent allowance for their support; adding,

"You are, upon this and upon all occasions, to avail yourselves of the knowledge and experience of Mr. Swartz, and to consult with him freely; as his known probity and love of justice entitle him to every attention on the part of government."

An establishment was accordingly formed pursuant to his recommendation, amounting to one thousand and seventy-seven star pagodas monthly for Serfojee and his relatives, and one thousand star pagodas each to the three widows of the deceased rajah.

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In November 1790, Mr. Swartz addressed the government of Madras on the system which should be adopted in the administration of the revenue of Tanjore, deprecating the management by renters, in two letters, which, though relating to a state of things long since corrected and improved, are so illustrative of his wisdom and ability, that they ought not to be omitted.

"*To the Honourable Sir Charles Oakley, Bart., President, and Governor in Council.*

"HONOURABLE SIR,

"Fully convinced of your indulgence, I take the liberty to address you, hoping that if my observations do not meet with your approbation, they will at least be pardoned.

"A rumour has been spread here that you intend to give the management of Tanjore to renters. If this should be the case, I am afraid that this poor country would be still more impoverished. Before the honourable Company took possession of it, I entreated the rajah to accede to any, even mortifying terms, rather than suffer it to be taken out of his hands. Whether my uneasiness proceeded from prejudice or love of justice, I will not determine. But I confess that, when the rajah lost the country, (at least for some time,) I felt sincerely for him. And what was the true cause of the rajah's ruin? It was particu-

larly his depending upon rapacious dubashes, who managed the country, and were, in fact, renters. When they, by enriching themselves, had impoverished it, and ruined the rajah, they abandoned him. Surely they might have extricated him, if the least principle of honesty had been in their hearts.

"Whether the rajah ever thought that they would act so treacherous a part, I cannot say; but he feels it now. This very day he is in great distress, being, as it were, besieged by his servants, who have had no pay for seven months, and are now very clamorous.

"Having been called by his excellency more than once to give him some advice in his present distress, I have been at a loss what to say. To upbraid him now for his past misconduct, would be cruel, and altogether useless.

"Instead of blaming him, I have told him that the honourable Company would do that which he ought to have done; that they would manage all things so wisely, that they would introduce justice, encourage industry and trade, and consequently, instead of diminishing the revenue, would increase it; so that when the country should be restored, he might find it improved, and his subjects happy people. But when I heard that the country might, perhaps, be given to renters, and very likely to Madras dubashes, who are all well

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able to make supplements to Machiavel's iniquitous scheme, my hopes vanished.

" Give me leave, honourable sir, to make a few observations on the scheme of giving the country to renters.

" It is acknowledged by all people, that the administration of justice is the basis of the true welfare of a country; but is that blessing to be expected from renters? I think it morally impossible; but it may be said, that proper people should be employed to attend to the administration of justice. However, if they did their duty faithfully, frequent complaints would be raised by the renter of having suffered a great loss by the dispensers of justice; and that on that account, an abatement ought to be made in respect of their stipulated payments.

" The management of this country has hitherto, in fact, been that of renters; for what else were those dubashes to whom whole districts were mortgaged? When these people and their friends were in power, their intention was to get as many villages as they could. As soon as the poor inhabitants failed in their payments, they proposed to pay off their arrears to the circar, and to appropriate the village to themselves and their friends, promising to give to the owners some allowance per year. Many complaints of the inhabitants are now in my hands, which prove this

deceitful method beyond any doubt. Some of those dubashes have got two, four, six villages by this artful management; nay, it is said that they have made use even of force to gain their point. An inquiry into that base oppression is wished for by the inhabitants; a renter will hinder such an inquiry, and discourage the inhabitants in their endeavours to get their property restored. In the nabob's country there is hardly any thing of this nature, for plain reasons. To rectify all these abuses, a court of justice ought to be established. Four or five respectable persons, if they were well chosen, and endowed with necessary authority by the honourable board, would be a blessing to this country. These judges ought to be responsible for their conduct. Having formerly recommended a proper attention to the introduction of justice, I cannot but repeat my request in the name of all the people.

" It is well known that the Tanjore country is not yet fully cultivated. The third part of it lies waste, though capable of the highest cultivation. This year it has been shamefully neglected; for at the time when the rivers were full of water, the puttekdars were here confined by the dubashes, whom I before called renters. They sagaciously foresaw what would happen; therefore they pressed the people for the payment of the money they had lent them, and the high interest

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on it; the consequence was, that instead of advancing money for cultivation, as is usual, the inhabitants were obliged to pay off their just and unjust debts, to those plunderers. Being deprived of the little money which they had, they found it difficult to carry on the cultivation with vigour; by this means more than ten lacs of kollam have been lost this year.

"But should the land be properly cultivated, (which is hardly to be expected if renters manage it,) it would soon, instead of ten lacs, produce twelve, nay, fifteen, and that without any oppression of the inhabitants. Surely a fair trial ought to be made. Lastly, I would observe, that as the Tanjore country is already parcelled out to above two hundred puttekdars, who have ten or more villages, and are responsible for a certain quantity of grain, the collection is made easy by it. These are, in fact, petty renters, who may be kept in some good order with more ease than a general renter.

"I would humbly propose to the honourable board, that Messrs. Ram and Fallofield might not be entirely separated in their operations. If they acted, at least in the principal points, jointly, that would check their servants, against whom otherwise hardly any complaint could be made.

"Nay, they ought to agree in the fundamental regulation of the country, viz., how much the in-

habitants are to pay per cent.; whether it is to be paid by them in grain or money; if in money, is the market price to be demanded or something more? is every little tax for the maintenance of the subadars and other officers, to be paid as formerly? is all service called vassalage to be destroyed? and many more considerations of that nature ought to be agreed upon by both, that there may be no party spirit. Though the business of cultivation has been much impeded this year, still something may be done to encourage it. Whoever of the merchants will lend money for that purpose, he ought to be assured of being repaid; and in case of the inhabitants' reluctance to pay off their debt, the merchant ought to be assisted: to facilitate that business, it would be very good to fix the lawful interest.

"These few observations I beg leave to offer, and humbly submit to your mature consideration.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

"*To the Hon. Sir Charles Oakley, Bart.*

"The letter which you have honoured me with, together with the one enclosed for his excellency the rajah, I have received and delivered to his excellency.

"The letter was read in my presence; it would

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be needless to mention what his excellency said to me in private. I requested a written answer, which he promised to give, and send to me, only he desired some days to consider the affair, as it appeared to him of great moment to come forth with a full answer to the proposed question, and to make it public. I have waited for his answer; but as he may perhaps require time, I thought it my duty not to delay any longer answering yours.

" Concerning this country, the income will be considerable: but you may be sure that if the banks and water-courses are properly repaired, and the season proves favourable, the revenue of the next year will be much augmented.

" The probable account of the revenue will be sent away to-day or to-morrow. The rajah's refusal to deliver any accounts of the last year, made this business tedious and troublesome. However, all difficulty is now over.

" In my last letter, I entreated the honourable board not to give the country to rapacious renters, who mind nothing but their own interest. Tanjore is capable of very great improvements; and though I will not anticipate any future account, I may safely say, that if it be managed properly next year, you will find a wonderful increase in the revenue, at least in respect of paddy.

" As the poor people lost, for some years,

almost all the benefit which they had a right to expect from their labour, they became very dispirited.

"There is still some oppression exercised by the puttekdars; however, they are now obliged to moderate their rapaciousness, being aware the oppressed people know whither to go and apply for justice.

"One thing is here needful, viz. a court of justice; many complaints have been made with regard to people who have lost their fields and villages by the power which was granted by the rajah to some of his favourites.

"Besides this, a lawful interest should be fixed by the government, and the offenders punished; for it is incredible what the poor people have suffered by paying exorbitant interest. In short, a proper management may turn this country into a garden, and make superiors and inferiors happy.

"Hearing of your arrival, I rejoiced; expecting from your well-known character every thing that tends to make the people happy; I therefore wish that Providence may make you, honourable sir, a favoured instrument to reform many abuses under which the country has groaned.

"Wishing you all true happiness,

"I respectfully am, &c.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

"Tanjore, 5th of Nov. 1790."

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The government of Fort St. George, on receiving the preceding valuable letters, resolved, "That a copy of the former, and an extract from the latter, should be transmitted to the board of assumed revenue, and that the sentiments of Mr. Swartz, as to the management of the revenue, and the administration of justice in the Tanjore country, should be recommended to their attentive consideration."

"It was also resolved, That the thanks of the Board be given to Mr. Swartz, for the useful information contained in his letters; and that he be told that the Board would always pay the most attentive consideration to every communication with which he might think proper to favour them, respecting the country."

In the course of the year 1790, several complaints were made against the servants of the Company employed at Tanjore, which led to an investigation of their conduct, in which Mr. Swartz performed a distinguished part. He was employed by the government to ascertain facts of importance in the course of the investigations, and required to report on the credibility of material witnesses. His opinion of two of these witnesses is thus briefly but acutely expressed.

"*To E. W. Fallofield, Esq.*

"DEAR SIR,

"In respect to the characters of those people who have been for or against Mr. Ram, one observation will, I think, be sufficient to state that matter. It is enough to know the characters of Shevarow and Subarow; all the rest were, and still are, their dependents, who must and will be for their leading man.

"Shevarow's character is not favourable to his cause. It is known to a great part of the inhabitants, that he too often deviated from truth, so that few could depend upon his word.

"Subarow is more on his guard; he is naturally a timid man, and wishes to have a good character. However, he is sometimes deviating from truth; but when he is found out, (as I have found him out,) he endeavours to put things right by doing that which he formerly ought to have done, and by undoing what had been wrong.

"I think that little can be depended upon in the characters of those people whose principles are not fixed.

"I am, &c.

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Tanjore, 30th of Nov. 1790."

The government, with reference to this service, desired Mr. Fallofield to return "the thanks of

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the board to the Rev. Mr. Swartz, for the assistance and information he has given upon the different points requested of him."

At the close of the year, in another letter to the government, through the resident and collector, he thus reiterated his sentiments on the necessity of some provision being made for the administration of justice in Tanjore.

"When the honourable Company took upon themselves the management of this country, in September, the inhabitants entertained the hope that a more regular system of justice would be introduced.

"The settling of country affairs, and the preparation of accounts, &c. being, in great measure, finished, I think this will be a favourable moment to address the honourable board, for their permission that a court of justice may be established at Tanjore, and cutchery courts in the districts; and I have no doubt but they will afford you the power to bless the country with such an institution.

"The laws by which all suits ought to be determined, must of course be the established laws of the country, or its ancient customs which have obtained the sanction of a law. To introduce European laws would be productive of the greatest confusion and inconvenience, and cause a general uneasiness throughout the country.

"The success of such a plan will, under any regulation, depend in great measure on the choice of upright, disinterested judges. If such persons should fortunately be met with, who are at the same time qualified for their office, the welfare of the country would be laid on a firm foundation.

"One person I am acquainted with, of uncorrupted morals and disinterested principles. He is *a Christian*, and has been employed as a judge at Tranquebar these twenty-five years. It is true he is in the service of the Danish government; but the governor of Tranquebar would willingly permit him to assist, at least for some time, in the establishment and necessary regulating of a court. For this man's integrity, I will be responsible. He was once sent to Tanjore by the Danish government, and at that time many people chose him for an arbitrator in their tedious suits, and willingly submitted to his decision. His being a Christian would be no objection to his being employed, as there are even Brahmins willing to acknowledge him a capable and good man.

"Some points relative to reform in the court at Tanjore, I committed to writing, by the desire of Sir Archibald Campbell. The country being at present under the Company, by whom the salaries of those employed in the court will, I suppose, be paid, the above plan will require considerable alterations.

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"To conclude. It has been a long time my passionate wish to see justice impartially administered in this country. Happy would it make me to see that wish accomplished, and the present period appears favourable for its introduction. I am well convinced the honourable board will give their concurrence and support to so very necessary and useful an undertaking."

A copy of the above letter was sent by the government of Fort St. George to the board of assumed revenue, at Tanjore.

The confidence reposed in the venerable missionary was unbounded; an additional instance of which was shortly afterwards afforded, in consequence of the continued objections of Ameer Sing to the allowances fixed by the government for the family of the late rajah. It was at length resolved, that "if his excellency persist in his refusal to receive those allowances, they should be advanced by the collectors to the Rev. Mr. Swartz, and by him be distributed to the parties concerned."—A more honourable proof of the high estimation in which this excellent man was held by the English government, can scarcely be imagined; and it is almost needless to add how justly it was deserved.

CHAPTER XVII.

Letters to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and to several friends—Progress of Mr. Jœnické—School at Cumbagonam—Renewal of the war with Tippoo—Ordination of Sattianaden—His Sermon on that occasion—He is sanctioned by the Society—His grateful acknowledgments—Letters to Mr. and Mrs. Duffin—Visit from the Rev. Mr. Cœmmerer—His Character of Mr. Swartz—Extracts from his Journal for 1791—Letters to friends—Eulogy of Swartz and Gericke, by Dr. Glasse in addressing the Rev. Mr. Pœzold, a new Missionary of the Society.

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In acknowledging the arrival of the annual stores sent out by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Mr. Swartz, in a letter dated the 10th of January, 1790, gratefully observes, that he and his brethren had reason to adore the mercy of God, and to say, "Hitherto the Lord has guarded, guided, and protected us." Mr. Kohlhoff had assisted him faithfully in the church, and in the schools, and Mr. Jœnicke had made amazing progress in learning the English and Tamul languages. The catechists and schoolmasters at Tanjore and Palamcotta, amounted to ten. Their salaries, the charge of supporting

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the schools, the repairs of old houses and the building of new ones, and the extraordinary allowances to the catechists when sent to distant places, were such, he states, that were it not for his salary from the East India Company, it would be impossible to defray all the necessary expenses. "But God," he adds, "has always helped. To him be glory for ever."

In a second letter of the same date, after again adverting to the promising advancement of Mr. Jœnické in the Tamul language, Mr. Swartz adds, that the sermons composed by this diligent student were corrected by himself; but that in a short time he would stand in no need of such assistance. "It would then," he said, "be necessary to determine upon the station for his missionary labours, whether at Madras or at Palamcotta, where the congregation was considerably increasing. In that quarter he thought more success would be experienced, as the people there had less connexion with Europeans. On the other hand, Mr. Gericke at Madras much needed assistance, which, however, he hoped would be afforded by the Society soon sending out another missionary. Should God call him away," he observes, "Mr. Gericke would then reside at Tanjore, and Mr. Kohlhoff go to Palamcotta, or they might alternately be at each place. These speculations, however, he humbly submit-

ted to the determination of divine Providence. They had then," he said, "no comfortable prospect before them; being apprehensive that the poor country would experience another devastation; though it had scarcely begun to lift up its head from the ravages occasioned by the last war."

In this letter Swartz communicates his intention of establishing a provincial school at Cumbagonam, one of the principal places in Tanjore. A very good spot had been granted to him by the rajah, and he had begun to lay the foundation of the building which he intended to be used as a place of divine worship. Whether the war they were dreading would prevent his proceeding with the work, a short time would show.

The intention thus announced, as to an additional school, was soon afterwards fulfilled, as appears by the following extracts from a letter to Mr. Pasche, dated July 21, 1790, in which, among other useful and interesting matter, he first mentions the design of ordaining his pious and excellent catechist, Sattianaden.

"God has graciously strengthened me hitherto, so that I have been enabled to do my work both among Christians and heathens. Meanwhile, I feel the approaches of age, being near the completion of my sixty-fourth year; but as long as I live, and have any strength left, I shall gladly take my share in the work.

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"In order to relieve the missionaries, I intend to ordain one of the native catechists of the name of Sattianaden, whose upright, disinterested, serious walk and conversation, flowing from sincere attachment to Christ, has attracted the notice of Mr. Jœnické, and really, as to my own feelings, I cannot but esteem this native teacher higher than myself. He has a particular talent in conversing with his countrymen. One of the principal labours of a missionary ought to be to train up young natives for future catechists. Whenever I meet with a promising youth, I spare neither pains nor expense to qualify him for the work.

"I have built a school house at Cumbagonam, which has been attended with considerable expense. Such schools are the very best means of communicating the knowledge of the word of God, not to the young people only, but to the inhabitants of the country at large. They may serve as a place of residence for catechists of the higher castes, who may proclaim, both in town and country, the glad tidings of the gospel.

"I had thoughts of opening the Cumbagonam school; but the war between Tippoo[1] and the English prevents it. General Meadows was here in May, and departed to assume the command; and I hear with pleasure that he maintains the

[1] Occasioned by his attack on the frontier of Travancore.

severest discipline, and has so strictly forbidden all plunder, that the inhabitants of Caroor and Coimbetore have returned without apprehension, and pursue their business in the presence of the army. May God preserve and strengthen the General!

"Several Malabar youths afford the pleasing hope, that in due time they will become useful assistants in our congregations, as well as in our schools. If God shall favour us with skilful native teachers, his work will prosper in this country. We still live in hope. The difficulties are, indeed, neither few nor small; but to sink under them would be sinful. God has removed many an obstacle during my forty years' sojourn in this land; and he who has hitherto been with us, will be so in future. He commanded Joshua to be 'strong and of good courage;' and the same charge is applicable to us. The eyes of many of the heathen are opened; but the cross which is connected with the profession of Christianity is to most a stumbling-block.

"With respect to the proposition to establish a village entirely inhabited by Christians, I have always entertained the apprehension, and likewise expressed it, that in the event of any commotion, such a village would be immediately burned down. On the other hand, when there are some Christian families residing in a village, the whole

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district may become acquainted with the counsel of God for their salvation."

In the same month he wrote as follows to his kind and valued friends at Madras. The close of his letter contains a striking expression of the deep humility of this eminent servant of God.

"Tanjore, July 28, 1790.

"My dear Friends,

"It is now a good while since I sent you a line. Nay, I have been so lazy as to neglect to thank Mr. Duffin for the excellent book he sent me. I have perused those 'Chinese Fragments'[1] carefully, and am sorry that all is but too true. May these melancholy truths lead many to repentance!

"Mrs. Strange has such confidence in my friend's medical ability, that she is resolved to employ him as her physician. She desired me to mention it to you, entreating you to do all you could, under the divine blessing, for her recovery. I told her that you would both do all in your power to comfort her in her illness without my request, as I knew you too well, and your inclination to assist the sick. However, as she insisted upon my previous writing, I was glad in having so fair an occasion of breaking my silence.

[1] By the late Ely Bates, the elegant author of "Rural Philosophy."

She is a very lively lady, and that keeps up her spirits under her severe complaint. Another would, perhaps, not be able to stir from her couch. Both she and her husband have always been very friendly to us. I heartily wish that your remedies may be effectual in removing her illness. I hope you are both tolerably well. Only let us take care of the welfare of our soul, and our body will partake at least something of the soul's happiness.

"The 17th of July I finished my fortieth year of pilgrimage here in this country, as I arrived July 17, 1750. How many thousand benefits have I received from a merciful God! How grateful I ought to have been! But alas! I must say, 'Forgive, forgive all my multiplied iniquities, for the sake of Jesus.' Indeed, my dear friends, our salvation consists in being pardoned. May we all be able to say, as Paul did, 'We have obtained mercy.' Amen, be it so! God bless you both in all respects. This is, and shall be, the sincere wish of

"Your most obedient servant and friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

War had now again commenced between the ambitious successor of Hyder Ali and the British government in India, as Swartz had anticipated; and to this event he alludes in the following

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letter to one of the same excellent friends at the close of this year. The elevated piety which it breathes cannot but be edifying.

"Tanjore, Dec. 3, 1790.

"DEAR MADAM,

"Accept my sincere thanks for your double present of books and snuff—the latter superior to any I have seen these last years.

"We are all tolerably well. The country people complain of want of rain; besides, they come into the fort by hundreds and thousands on account of Tippoo's horse. About Trichinopoly the villages are burnt, and many of the people wounded. How much have those poor inhabitants suffered! It is said that General Meadows is at Caroor. If this be true, the enemy at Samiaburam will not long remain in his present condition.

"The poor people had hardly begun to breathe after the last destructive war, Now they are again in constant terror. But still they will not acknowledge the hand that strikes them.

"How happy are they who, from their infancy, have been brought up in the knowledge of truth; for I find that those who have been educated in idolatry and error, shake off their error and superstition with great difficulty. Ignorance and wickedness hinder them. But a wicked Christian

knows at least the way to happiness; and therefore has but one hindrance to overcome—namely, his evil course. But unspeakably happier are those who have been awakened by the Spirit of God, to turn to him who is the source of happiness; who look upon sin as poison, and all worldly things as dross, (which is unable to make them happy,) in order to win Christ, and to be found in him.

"If we win Christ and his atonement, we surely possess the greatest gain—pardon of sins, peace of mind, and hope of everlasting life. The conveniences which worldly things afford us, are not to be compared to these divine blessings.

"If we are found in Christ as branches in a vine, we shall derive from him blessings of every kind, and strength to grow in all Christian virtues. In him we are preserved, cheered, comforted at all times, in sickness and health, in life and in death. O, may we be found in him even at the day of judgment!

"May the peace of God reign in your heart at all times! This peace will preserve you.

"I am, sincerely, dear Madam,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The renewal of the war with Tippoo excited considerable alarm at Tanjore, and some appre-

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hensions were entertained of an attack from the Mahommedan troops. This danger was, however, happily averted, by the English army under Lord Cornwallis entering Mysore; and the missionaries continued to discharge their peaceful duties without interruption. The successful progress of the army, and the prospect of the conquest of Mysore, led both Swartz and Jœnické to anticipate a more extensive diffusion of the gospel in that country. "If Seringapatam should be taken," says the former, "a mission might be established there. The Rannee (the imprisoned queen) knows me, has often mentioned me in her letters, and made many promises. May God compassionate the land, and send labourers into his harvest!"

1791. Early in the year 1791, Swartz informed the Society of the accomplishment of his intention respecting the ordination of Sattianaden. Previous to that time the missionaries at Tranquebar permitted one of their country priests occasionally to visit Palamcotta; but as one of them died, and the other became an invalid, the English missionaries thought it expedient to confer their Lutheran ordination on one of their own native catechists, who had performed the functions of that subordinate office for many years, and had given ample proof of ability and faithfulness. "His

whole deportment," observes Mr. Swartz, "evinces clearly the integrity of his heart. His humble, disinterested, and believing walk, has been made so evident to me and others, that I may say with truth I have never met with his equal among the natives of this country. His love to Christ, and his desire to be useful to his countrymen, are quite apparent. His gifts in preaching afford universal satisfaction. His love to the poor is extraordinary; and it is often inconceivable to me how he can manage to subsist on his scanty stipend, (three star-pagodas per month) and yet do so much good. His management of children is excellent; and he understands how to set a good example in his own house"—which Swartz illustrates by the piety of two of Sattianaden's daughters, one of whom had died in a most christian and edifying manner.

On the 26th of December, 1790, this estimable man received ordination at the hands of the missionaries, according to the rites of the Lutheran church, in one of the congregations of the mission connected with the Society, on the coast of Coromandel. "It was a sacred and most delightful day," says his venerable instructor, "to us all. Should I not sing to my God? The name of the Lord be humbly praised for all his undeserved mercy! May He begin anew to bless us and the congregation, and graciously grant that through

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this our brother many souls may be brought to Christ." On this interesting occasion, Sattianaden delivered a sermon in the Malabar or Tamul language, an English translation of which, by Mr. Kohlhoff, Swartz transmitted to this country.

The Society justly deeming a production so extraordinary, worthy of being generally known, directed it to be published [1] for the satisfaction of the members at large, "in order to evince the capacity of the natives for the work of the ministry, and as an evidence that the efforts of their missionaries in India had not been in vain; but that the work of God was advancing, and the light of the gospel spreading through those regions of darkness and idolatry."

This sermon of Sattianaden is certainly a very remarkable composition. That it was his genuine production, is attested by Swartz himself, who was incapable of affirming any thing but the strictest truth. It is founded on that striking and encouraging declaration of the prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxxiii. 11, "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways, for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" From

[1] It is contained at length in the Abstract of the Society's Reports, pp. 325—356, and, together with the prayers before and after the sermon, well deserves perusal.

this instructive and affecting passage, the pious Hindoo considered the gracious offers of divine mercy to all mankind; the inestimable blessings of divine forgiveness and grace which they comprise; and the method of obtaining them by repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. In the discussion of these important points, he evinced much sound scriptural knowledge, together with great perspicuity and strength of thought; and notwithstanding the disadvantage of a translation, which, though scrupulously faithful, inadequately expressed the force and beauty of the original, a simple and tender strain of eloquence pervades the whole, which powerfully accredits the sincerity of its author, and sufficiently proved his qualifications for the office of a Christian teacher.

The necessity so deeply felt, and so continually urged, by the English missionaries, of additional fellow-labourers, and the importance of investing pious and well-qualified natives with the ministerial character, led, even at this period, to the conviction on the part of some of the friends of the mission, of the expediency of some measure for securing episcopal ordination; nor would any one have more cordially rejoiced in such a provision for the spiritual wants of India than Swartz, who having been himself episcopally ordained, would have hailed with delight the establishment of our apostolical church, which has since been

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so happily planted in India. For the present, he was contented to supply the increasing want of labourers, particularly in the South of the Peninsula, to the best of his ability, by the discipline of the Lutheran church; and in the instance in question nothing could be more judicious and successful than his choice of Sattianaden as a native teacher. That sincere and zealous convert, as soon as he had received ordination, returned to Palamcotta, where he had been before so usefully and diligently employed. "God," observes Mr. Kohlhoff, in mentioning this pleasing event, "has already blessed the labours of this worthy man, in awakening many to turn from their sins unto him; and no doubt is entertained of his proving a favoured instrument in the hands of the Almighty for the enlargement of his kingdom upon earth."

With equal wisdom and kindness, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge directed their secretary to address a letter to Sattianaden, assuring him of their sanction and support, and encouraging him to fidelity and diligence in the ministry which he had recently received. This was translated by Swartz, and afforded the native pastor inexpressible joy.

In a letter to Mr. Jœnické, with whom he was associated in the mission at Palamcotta, he thus expressed himself. "I shall always be thankful

to the honourable Society for their benevolence, and the great demonstrations of it towards me. I shall never forget their having confirmed me in my office. Their having my happiness, and the happiness of my nation so much at heart, excites me to constant praises to God. I shall obey them in every respect, be careful not to disappoint their hopes, and by discharging all the duties of my function, endeavour to live to their satisfaction. Whoever knows the truth, and the design for which it was revealed, and enjoys the blessings of our holy religion, he, and he only, is fit to recommend it to others. For he who does not lead a holy life, according to the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, though he should speak as an angel from heaven, yet his life not being correspondent with his doctrine, his preaching will often be in vain: it will too be a testimony against him, and tend to his own ruin, as we read in the 50th Psalm. That this may not be the case with me, I shall endeavour to be watchful; and it is my daily prayer to God, that he may grant me the grace of his blessed Spirit to grow more and more in knowledge and godliness."

After this satisfactory expression of his sound and scriptural piety, Sattianaden thus beautifully refers to his own conversion to the faith of the

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"When I contemplate the ways of God, by which he led me, I am full of admiration and praise. I was once a heathen, who did not know him; and he called me by his faithful servant Mr. Swartz. This my venerable father received and instructed me. His exertions by day and by night, tended to bring me to repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, to produce in me fruits meet for repentance, to induce me to lead a godly and holy life, and to grow in knowledge and in every grace and virtue. He did not destine me to worldly business, but appointed me to bring my nation to the knowledge of God, and of Jesus Christ, whom he sent to redeem the world. In consequence, he gave me the office of a catechist, and used his utmost endeavours to bring me to a more extensive knowledge. And likewise you, sir," writing to Mr. Jœnické, "exerted yourself to correct my errors and my failings, encouraged me to grow in godliness, and endeavoured to make me more and more useful and happy. Should I be saved, which, trusting in the mercy of God, I hope to be, it will be a glory to you; and even though I should be lost, (which God forbid!) my damnation cannot diminish your glory. Now, to crown the pious exertions of my much-esteemed teachers, the honourable Society has approved your proceedings, and confirmed me in the higher office

committed to me; a benevolence which I shall never forget. May God grant me a truly humble mind! May he make me acceptable to himself, diligent in the performance of every duty, useful in my generation, and obedient to him and my superiors!" CHAP. XVII. 1791.

Mr. and Mrs. Duffin being now about to return to England, Swartz expressed his truly Christian and elevated affection for these valued friends in the following beautiful letter; the sentiments of which, though partly coincident with those in a former letter, will be read with almost equal interest.

"Tanjore, March 3, 1791.

"DEAR MADAM,

"Your kind letter I have received, and should have answered long ago, if the enemy's horse had not been in the road.

"Mr. Blackburne arrived here, and told me that my dear friend, Mr. D——, was not well, and that though he was ailing, he assisted his fellow-sufferers. This is a genuine proof of his love towards his neighbour. May God preserve his health and life to the comfort of many!

"Your kindness to Mrs. K—— and her daughter, rejoices us all. And as you are hospitable to her, not only in a worldly, but a truly Christian manner, I am sure that Mrs. K—— will esteem

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it a double blessing to live with you. I hear that Mr. D—— intends to leave this country. The public will suffer by his departure; but none can envy him the rest which he and you will then enjoy.

"One day, that greatest and most solemn of all days, will bring us all together. How shall we then rejoice, when we find that our course and warfare are come to a blessed end! In the mean time, let us fight the good fight of faith, laying hold (in hope) on eternal life.

"May we be daily girt with the girdle of truth —of the whole truth, as it has been revealed to us by God, and particularly that cheering truth, that in Jesus Christ, and in a close union with him, consists eternal life.

"Let us daily put on the breastplate of righteousness. For the atoning sacrifice of Jesus, his meritorious sufferings, his blood and death, whereby he has delivered us from the wrath of God, having taken upon him the sentence of death, which we had deserved—this his righteousness will cover our breast, so that no accusation can be brought against us.

"Daily let our feet be shod with a readiness to confess the gospel of peace; for we have the greatest reason to glory in Christ.

"Daily let us take up the shield of faith, which God has shown us. By faith we lay hold on the

promises of God. He has promised to uphold, strengthen, comfort, and deliver us in all circumstances. These precious promises are our shield, by which we quench all the fiery darts of the devil.

"Daily let us put upon our head the helmet of salvation; that is, the hope of a blessed eternity. This hope will support us under all gloomy and terrifying circumstances. Daily let us use the word of God, not only as a seed, or milk, or food, but as a sword likewise; by which we may cut asunder all knots which the enemy ties.

"Being armed with these divine weapons, let us rejoice; but let us never be proud; but pray daily to Him from whom comes all our help and comfort.

"May God strengthen us all to live, to suffer, and to die like real Christians! My best wishes shall follow you both, wherever you are, till we see one another before the throne of God. I shall always be,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

In the month of September Mr. Swartz wrote as follows:—

"Though I feel age and the infirmities connected with it, I have much cause humbly to praise God that he so graciously strengthens me

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to pursue my daily labours among both Christians and heathens, as well as to prepare some for baptism;—labours which so far from exhausting, are a cordial to me. I baptize no one whom I have not instructed daily for two and sometimes three months. There are two villages of Christians round our garden, one of Pariah, and the other of Soodra caste; and these can conveniently attend our daily worship. That which you for so many years desired, that we might have a village of Christians, God has brought about without our interference. May he grant that we may be a blessing to the heathen dwelling around us!"

Early in the following year, in writing to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Mr. Swartz gratefully acknowledges that, though past the sixty-fifth year of his age, he had great reason to bless God for the preservation of his health, and for having been enabled to persevere in the discharge of his duty; that eighty-seven heathen converts had been baptized in the course of the preceding year, the greater part of whom were cultivators of fields, a few miles from the Fort, and that houses were intended to be built for their convenient attendance upon divine service. He observes that Mr. Jœnické, who was settled at Palamcotta, was much delighted with the good conduct of the several congregations, which had,

since his residence there, received an addition of sixty-five members; and adds, that there are some really pious people in the Fort also. He then mentions, that he had lately received a visit from Mr. Cœmmerer, the new missionary at Tranquebar, who had remained with them three months, studying the Tamul language, and whom he believed to be an upright, sincere Christian, who would diligently do the work of an evangelist. He expresses his hope that an end would soon be put to the war, and that a more open field would thus present itself for the labours of missionaries. "Would to God," he continues, "that some labourers could be sent to work in it! I am sure that some gentlemen here would assist. Government would not suffer by it, but rather experience the benefit of seeing the people instructed. This I could show by undeniable proofs, and government would confirm it."

Of the visit thus mentioned from the new Tranquebar missionary, Mr. Cœmmerer himself gives the following particulars; which will be found scarcely less interesting than the early sketch of Mr. Swartz's character, by Mr. Chambers; and, in some respects, remarkably coincident with that striking fragment.

"I had spent three months at Tranquebar," writes Mr. Cœmmerer, "when I mentioned to my brethren my wish to see the aged, and by me

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long since esteemed missionary, Mr. Swartz; as well as to visit Mr. Jœnické, whom I had known at Halle. My brethren acceding to my request, I set off on the 30th of August, and met Mr. Swartz at Combaconum. Sincere esteem and reverence penetrated my soul when I saw this worthy man, with his snow-white hair. Integrity and truth beamed in his eyes. He embraced me, and thanked God that he had led me to this country. Mr. Jœnické received me with open arms. It was very affecting to me to see him once again; for when he accepted the call to India, and preached his farewell discourse at Halle, where I was among his hearers, I certainly never imagined that we should meet and converse again in so remote a country. For twelve days I had the satisfaction of being in his society, till he departed for Palamcottah.

"Tanjore is a large fortified town, which underwent considerable repairs after its occupation by the English. Yet the streets remained dirty and disagreeable, and the place was very unhealthy during the rainy season. This induced Mr. Swartz to select a piece of ground of considerable dimensions, at the distance of about two miles, which he cultivated and formed into a garden, where he erected several houses and a small church. In the immediate vicinity of this garden, the native Christians settled, and he lives amongst

them like a father." Speaking of the splendour of the pagodas in this chief seat of idolatry, he adds, "Here we see how much *superstition* can effect.

"My stay at Tanjore was to have been limited to the 25th of October, my presence being much wanted by the Tranquebar brethren; but dear Mr. Swartz wished for an extension of the time, being desirous that I should make considerable progress in the Malabar tongue; and it so happened that the rains this season were more violent than was ever recollected by the oldest inhabitants. I could not, in consequence, return, without endangering my life. Under these circumstances, my residence with that excellent man was delayed until the 14th of December.

"Nothing could possibly afford me more lively satisfaction than the society of Mr. Swartz. His unfeigned piety, his real and conscientious attention to every branch of his duties, his sincerity,—in short, his whole demeanour filled me with reverence and admiration. He treated me like a brother, or rather like a tender parent, and instructed me in the most agreeable manner in the Malabar language. The same did Mr. Kohlhoff, who is meekness and humility itself. Many an evening passed away, as if it had been but a single moment, so exceedingly interesting proved the conversation of this truly venerable man, and his

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relations of the singular and merciful guidance of God, of which he had experienced so many proofs throughout his life, but particularly during the dreadful wars in India. The account he gave of the many dangers to which his life had been exposed, and the wonderful manner in which it was often preserved, his tender and grateful affection towards God, his fervent prayers and thanksgivings, his gentle exhortations constantly to live as in the presence of God, zealously to preach the gospel, and entirely to resign ourselves to God's kind providence—all this brought many a tear into my eyes, and I could not but ardently wish that I might one day resemble Swartz. His disinterestedness, his honourable manner of conducting public business, procured him the general esteem both of Europeans and Hindoos. Every one loved and respected him, from the king of Tanjore to the humblest native.

"Nor was he less feared; for he reproved them, without respect to situation and rank, when their conduct deserved animadversion; and he told all persons without distinction what they ought to do, and what to avoid, to promote their temporal and eternal welfare. The king frequently observed, that, in the world, much was effected by presents and gold, and that he himself had done much by those means; but that with Padre Swartz they answered no purpose. This

excellent man often told me, that the favour of God, and communion with Christ, was of greater value to him than 'thousands of gold and silver.' Certainly, by the goodness of God, he has been made a great blessing to this country. What other men could not effect without a military force, he has done by the personal influence which he possessed over the people, and which arose exclusively from his integrity and sincere piety.

"A few miles from Tanjore, two Brahmins enticed a child of rich parents, splendidly adorned with gold and precious stones, into their pagoda, where they put him to death. The government of Madras desired Mr. Swartz to investigate this horrid deed. He accordingly examined the murderers in the king's palace, and brought them to confess the crime. They were afterwards executed.

"While on a visit at Cumbagonam, Mr. Swartz conversed with a Brahmin who had considerable landed property, entreating him with much affection to turn to the true God. A few weeks afterwards, we heard that he had died, and that his wife was burned alive with his corpse. Although this happens less frequently than formerly, yet, in many instances it takes place, and that from two motives: one is superstition; the poor widow believing that she shall attain to a higher degree of happiness after death: the other is the

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fear of being despised by her relations, in case she should not manifest an affection sufficiently strong, to devote herself to the funeral pile with her husband. When Mr. Swartz learns beforehand that such an inhuman sacrifice is about to take place, he exerts his utmost influence to prevent it; and in these endeavours he has often succeeded.

"His garden is filled from morning till late in the evening with natives of every rank, who come to him to have their differences settled; but, rather than his missionary duties should be neglected, the most important cases are delayed.

"Both morning and evening he has a service, at which many of the Christians attend. A short hymn is first sung; after which he gives an exhortation on some passage of Scripture, and concludes with a prayer. Till this is over, every one, even the most respectable, is obliged to wait. The number of those who come to him to be instructed in Christianity is great. Every day individuals attend, requesting him soon to establish a Christian congregation in their part of the country.

"During my stay about thirty persons, who had been previously instructed, were baptized. He always performs the service with such solemnity, that all present are moved to tears. He

has certainly received from God a most peculiar gift of teaching the truths of religion. Heathens of the highest rank, who never intend to become worshippers of the true God, and disciples of Jesus Christ, hear his instructions with pleasure. During an abode of more than forty years in this country, he has acquired a profound knowledge of the customs, manners, and character of the people. He expresses himself in the Tamul language as correctly as a native. He can immediately reply to any question, and refutes objections so well, that the people acknowledge, 'We can lay nothing to the charge of this priest.'

"The time having arrived for my return to Tranquebar, it was not without the deepest regret that I parted from this excellent man. Besides making considerable progress in the Malabar language, I derived great benefit for my immortal soul. On my taking leave, he said, shaking hands with much warmth, 'O that we may meet again before the throne of God! I wish once more to see my friends on the coast, and to take my farewell of them.'"

The journal of Swartz for this year contains a striking illustration of Mr. Cœmmerer's remark as to the respect in which he was held, both by the English government and the rajah of Tanjore, and of his beneficial influence even in civil con-

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cerns, combined, as it ever was, with his unabated zeal and piety.

"When the present king," he observes, "ascended the throne, I was desired to form the outline of a plan for the better administration of justice and the laws. I did so; and it was transmitted to England, and approved. This year the directors sent out orders to have my plan carried into execution: and the governor of Madras desired me to superintend it. This greatly increased my labours; but for the sake of the poor inhabitants, I could not refuse the office.

"As many of the natives daily come to me from all parts of the country, I had the best opportunity of declaring to them the counsel of God, for their salvation. Those who came at seven in the morning, attended our morning prayers. Others, who called at eight, heard the instructions given to the candidates for baptism. Sometimes forty or fifty persons are present, both of high and low castes. Frequently from fifteen to twenty Brahmins are sitting by while I am catechising. I say to them, 'Sit down, and you will hear what doctrines we teach. I trust you will dedicate yourselves to the service of your Creator and Redeemer, and forsake your wretched idolatry!' They quietly sit down for an hour, and hear every thing I have to say. Thirty years ago, they would have looked upon this as the greatest

scandal. May God be merciful to them, and incline their hearts not only to hear, but to receive the truth in the love of it!

"My hope that this country will be brought to a saving knowledge of the gospel, daily gains strength; but whether I shall live to see the change, the Lord only knows—nor, indeed, is it material. My chief care is to train up young people in the service of Christ. Mr. Jœnické observed, 'I wish we had a few more young men like Sattianaden.' Yes, I replied: the Lord of the harvest can call others. May He only grant us a single aim, and humble hearts! Then his blessing will not be wanting: but if we harbour sordid motives, we cannot expect it."

How admirable and instructive are such reflections; and what might not be expected from the united exertions and prayers of a few such labourers!

In another part of the journal for 1791, Swartz thus mentions one of the benevolent methods he adopted for supplying some of his native converts with the means of support.

"I sometimes employ poor widows in spinning. They bring the yarn to a Christian weaver, who makes good cloth for a trifling sum. Some widows bruise rice, and sell it; others support themselves by selling fruit. When I visit these

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poor women on an afternoon, I first catechise them, and then get them to show me their work, as a proof of their industry. Labour is constantly necessary for them, not only as an occupation, but to fix their minds on an object during the hours of solitude.

"The great wish of our hearts is, that those who have been instructed in our religion, may lead a life conformable to its holy precepts. Some, indeed, bring forth the fruits of faith; as for others, we labour with patience, in hope of seeing them turn to the Lord.

"A short time since an old man was interred, whose life and death were a great consolation to us. He was a man of some property in land and cattle, and left the whole to his children, exhorting them in his last moments to follow his example, and become disciples of Jesus Christ. But, alas! they were far from being so inclined. His whole heart was fixed upon God, and he sought and found salvation, by repentance and faith in the great Redeemer, and by a steady course of consistent piety. He was indefatigable in prayer, never gave way to a spirit of discontent, but always enjoyed a happy frame of serenity and peace. Many heathens who knew him were wont to say, 'If there be not another sincere Christian among those who have been instructed, this good old man certainly is one.' In his last illness, he

was visited by the catechists and ourselves. The day of his departure I said to him, 'My dear friend, it seems as if the Lord designed to call you away to-day.' 'Yes,' returned he; 'I am ready to go; and my soul exclaims, Come, Lord Jesus! I am willing to follow thee!' Shortly after, one of the catechists asked him how he found himself. 'Very well,' he replied, and expired. His death produced a general sensation. The children in the schools, who revered him as a father, followed him, singing hymns, with a great concourse of Christians, and heathens, and strewed his grave with flowers. All the brethren were convinced that his life was truly Christian, and his end happy. His memory will be blessed." CHAP. XVII. 1791.

Who can peruse the preceding brief narrative, and not feel that the subject of it was a genuine convert to the faith and hope of the gospel; and that, had there been no other evidence of his success, the labour of Swartz would not have been in vain!

In a letter to a friend, dated "Tanjore, January 24th, 1792," Swartz thus expresses his perception of advancing years, and his increasing anxiety for additional help.

"I am now in the 66th year of my age, and I cannot but bless God that I am still able to perform all my usual functions, both in the church 1792.

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and in the schools. Nature certainly begins to decay; but as long as God shall grant me any degree of strength, I will gladly spend it in labouring in his vineyard. The harvest is at present truly great, but the labourers are few: we therefore earnestly pray that the Lord would send labourers into his harvest; and we urgently entreat all our friends and patrons in Europe to do their utmost to send us out faithful assistants in this work. In the last year the increase of converts was considerable. Our three schools in this place go on well, and also that at Cumbagonam, and another at Paliamkodi. In the latter place, above sixty persons have been converted to Christianity."

On the 8th of March following he says, "Ten days ago, I returned from a journey to Trichinopoly. My excursion was very gratifying both in going and returning. I visited the little congregations from village to village, and was pleased with their open-hearted avowal of the truth. When I catechised, there were generally above a hundred heathens present who listened in silence. One of the newly-baptized Christians said, "The whole land will yet turn to Christ." I said, "Amen!" For so it is written, that the kingdoms of this world shall finally be given to the Lord Christ. On my outward journey I took the

northern side, on my return the southern, and declared the counsel of God to Christians and heathens with much emotion of heart. The three schools here, and that at Cumbagonam are continued. Our greatest anxiety is how to dispose of the children educated in the English schools, as most of them are orphans. They are not received into the army, unless they are content to rise no higher than sergeants![1] In writing departments so many applicants are to be found in Madras, that it is difficult to obtain situations. The war is now almost at an end, and the preliminaries of peace have been already acceded to by all parties."

The continued affection of Swartz for the widow and children of his friend, Colonel Wood, was in this year expressed in the following pious and interesting letter.

"Tanjore, March 9th, 1792.

"Your favour of January 13th, 1791, I have received. I am happy at the pleasing account of your better health. I am now in the 66th year of my age, and am so well that I can go through the duties of my office without much fatigue. However, I think now daily of my departure. My time is in the hand of God; but, considering

[1] This restriction is now happily removed.

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my age, my quitting this world cannot be far off.

"I adore the unspeakable mercy of God, who has dealt so very kindly by me in all respects. He has given me a knowledge of his unspeakably great love in Christ; he pardoneth my sins, heals my infirmities, and I hope that he will crown me with glory. Moreover, he has been pleased to make me an instrument of his grace to instruct others; some of whom we shall find in a blessed eternity, with whom I shall sing the praises of redeeming love. In short, if I complain, it must be of myself, and of my frequent acts of disobedience and ingratitude; but of my God and Redeemer I have no reason to complain.

"Dear madam, we have known one another in this pilgrimage. O that we may see one another in glory!

"Remember me to your dear children. Your eldest daughter is, I hope, 'a joyful mother of children.' Put her often in mind to bring them up in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ; and not according to the fancies of the world. Your youngest daughter, M., is now married likewise to a clergyman.[1] May she also look out for the best part! But where is your second daughter, E.? Is she still with you? Before

[1] The late Rev. and excellent Basil Woodd.

this reaches you, I hope you have seen your dear son. May he imitate Cornelius, desirous of hearing and receiving the word of truth!

"Many of your clergymen make little of a Redeemer. They destroy the foundation of happiness and true holiness. What can they build? Paul was another master-builder, who knew of no other foundation than Jesus Christ.

"Mr. Breithaupt is a plain and serious Christian. Mr. Gericke and he live close together. Mr. F—— is dead. He seemed to be sorry for what he had done. His memory failed him; but he had no severe sickness. He supped heartily, and began to tremble, and died.

"God bless you, and your dear children."

To the latter Swartz added:—

"As I wrote to-day some lines to your dear mamma, I thought it necessary to add a line or two to you, to indulge the pleasure of mind, which I find in talking of or to you.

"Your old friend is still alive, going about to preach the glad tidings concerning a Redeemer, who came to save that which was lost. As this blessed Jesus is called, with the greatest propriety, the 'Consolation of the nations,' I hope you seek all true comfort in Him. By Him you shall be made wise; for He is the author of all wisdom. In and by Him you shall obtain a full and atoning

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righteousness, as he has fulfilled the law of God, and satisfied divine justice for us; in and by him we shall be truly sanctified, and restored to the image of God; because he has not only given us the best rules for holiness, but has set us an example of unspotted holiness, and, which is our greatest comfort, has purchased for us the grace of his Holy Spirit; nay, is now able to send this blessed Spirit into our hearts. In and by Jesus, we shall be delivered from all evil and calamity, and introduced into the presence of God. Should not such a Saviour be precious in our sight? St. Paul counted all things but loss in cōmparison with the excellency of the knowledge of his Saviour. Whatever worldly people say, they will one day or other be of Paul's opinion.

"I pray to God to enable you to show by your conduct, before all the world, that Jesus is the highest object of your desires and wishes. Worldly riches and honours are not sinful in themselves; nay, ought to be used with thankfulness to God, but with a becoming care and vigilance, lest they become a snare to us."

The following is the first letter from Swartz, to his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Duffin, who had now returned to Europe. The unpleasant circumstances which he mentions in it, as result-

ing from the recent conversion of some native families, are more fully detailed in a subsequent letter.

" Tanjore, Sept. 17, 1792.

" As I hear that a Company's ship is to be despatched, I must write you a few lines.

" We are all still in being. Mr. Kohlhoff is well, and Mr. Jœnické arrived here from his long journey to Palamcotta a few days ago. I myself am so far well as to perform the duties of my office. If I live a few weeks longer, I shall finish my sixty-sixth year. How long has God showed mercy to me! Praise and honour be to his name! At last, when I survey all, I must confess, that all I have done needs pardon; which I hope to find, for the sake of my blessed Redeemer.

" The schools are kept up as before, here and at Cumbagonam. Some of the first scholars are now writers.

" Just about the time when you left us, we had a great deal of trouble. Many of the Collary families were instructed and baptized, which displeased the heathens to such a degree, that they associated by two and three hundred, in order to attack the Christians. But by a kind Providence this storm is become, in a great degree, a calm.

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"At Palamcotta, Mr. Jœnické has instructed many; and he delights in the truly Christian conduct of many. He thinks that the country people are more open to conviction. The children in the country found it difficult to be instructed. I have therefore built a spacious house for them, and intend to keep a charity school. Next month we are resolved to begin. We shall first take fifteen or twenty, and keep them free in victuals and clothes. If God be with us, we hope to enlarge, and take in more.

"This country is still managed by the Company. Last week a new treaty was offered to the rajah's approbation and signature. But the conditions were rather hard; so that he will not be able to comply with them.

"By this time I hope you are settled in London. I heartily wish that you may find your present situation beneficial to soul and body. May the Lord Jesus, who has bought and redeemed us, be our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. May we rejoice in him, and may that joy be our strength, by which we may overcome all temptations! For temptations, we, no doubt, shall meet every where. Let us be strong in the Lord, and watch and pray till we have finished our warfare.

"All my friends wish you health and substantial happiness.

"I am, as long as I live,

"Dear friends,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

In the course of this year, Mr. John, one of the missionaries at Tranquebar, having occasion to obtain the advice of Swartz, requested the latter to meet him at Tripatore. "I reached that place," he says, "at seven, and at eight Mr. Swartz arrived, whom I had so earnestly desired to see. He was not able to quit his palanquin without difficulty; and I soon perceived that since I saw him at Tanjore a year and a half ago, his energy and strength had become much impaired. It went to my very heart, as I reflected with sorrow, that we were not likely to retain this dear brother long amongst us. He himself observed; 'I am getting nearer the grave; travelling no longer does for me; my heavenly Father will not, I trust, permit me to lie long sick and incapable of work; but take me soon to himself—if it be his will.' He complained of a severe cold that affected his teeth; the loss of which would much grieve him, as it would hinder his speaking.

"Our Christians assembled, and Mr. Swartz

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recapitulated to them his sermon of last Sunday. Till midnight I poured out my heart into the bosom of this faithful and experienced brother, and was through him not a little refreshed."

The progress of religion at Palamcotta, under the zealous ministry of Jœnické and Sattianaden was particularly gratifying, to the venerable missionary at Tanjore. "The native preacher," Mr. Jœnické informed him, "returned lately from an excursion, after an absence of thirty five days. Every morning he went to some village in the neighbourhood. He cannot sufficiently describe the desire expressed by the people; wherever he went, they begged him to read and preach to them. He was full of joy, and would gladly have returned to them again, but I rather preferred his holding the preparation at Padunadapooram. I believe we shall have a great harvest in the West."

"I always thought," replied Swartz, "and I wrote to you to say so, that a large congregation would be collected at Palamcotta. This my hope now begins to be fulfilled. O may the Lord of the harvest give faithful labourers! But I hope and pray that God will protect this work from the race of those that deny the Godhead of Christ, and his atoning sacrifice.

"Since January I have had from twenty to thirty persons constantly under preparation; and

I have laboured on them with all my might, morning, afternoon, and evening until almost ten o'clock at night. I recapitulate and apply the fundamental doctrines of the Christain faith, lead them to child-like communion with God in prayer, and while so engaged, almost forget my age and infirmities. I esteem it the greatest of blessings, next to my own interest in Christ, to be an instrument in the salvation of others."

After repeated inquiries, the venerable Dr. Schultz, of Halle, succeeded, in the course of this year, in obtaining, in the Rev. C. W. Pæzold, who had been educated at Wittemberg, one whom he could recommend to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, for the arduous work of a missionary. In the month of October, Mr. Pæzold arrived in England, and, previously to his departure for India, a charge was delivered to him, at the request of the Society, by the late Rev. Dr. Glasse, in the course of which he thus refers to him, whom he justly styled "the admirable Mr. Swartz," as "an example of all that is great and good and imitable in the character of a Christian missionary; one that has hazarded his life for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; one that has been enabled not only to conciliate the affections of the ignorant and unlearned, but to overcome the deep-rooted prejudices of such as had been long habituated to a most unreasonable

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system of theology, and which, to the utter astonishment of those who are blessed with superior light, they hold, amidst all its absurdities, (I had almost said amidst all its abominations,) in the highest veneration and esteem. Many of these has the indefatigable Mr. Swartz converted to the pure and apostolical faith, by a conciliatory behaviour, peculiarly suited to his situation; a behaviour which, whilst it has endeared him to the common orders of men, has procured him admission even before the throne of the proudest monarch of the east: there do we find this worthy servant of God, pleading the cause of Christianity, and interceding for the protection of his mission, and doing it without offence: there do we find him, renouncing every personal consideration, regardless of every personal advantage, and, in the true spirit of the divine lawgiver, 'choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God,' than to enjoy any pleasures or distinctions which this world could afford him; 'esteeming the reproach of Christ,' and the advancement of a despised religion, 'greater riches' than Indian treasures; because, with Moses, 'he had respect' to a future and eternal 'recompence of reward.' In a word, we find him in every place, and on every occasion, conducting himself as one who had determined to know and to regard nothing but the interest of a crucified Saviour, and the propagation of his gospel."

While the character of Swartz was thus deservedly eulogised, an equally just tribute of approbation was paid to his valuable fellow-labourers, and particularly to Mr. Gericke, with whom it was intended that Mr. Pæzold should be immediately associated at Madras, as a most devoted and zealous missionary, who merited every testimony of respect from the Society with which he was connected.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Harsh treatment of Serfojee and the Widows of Tuljajee, by Ameer Sing—Letter from Serfojee to Mr. Swartz—He transmits their Complaints to the Governor of Madras—The Widows and Serfojee, accompanied by Mr. Swartz, are removed to that Presidency—Proceedings commenced for a renewed Investigation of Serfojee's adoption—Administration of Tanjore revenue restored to Ameer Sing—Swartz visits Mr. Gericke at Vepery—Their mutual testimony—Account of the Collaries—Mr. Jœnicke and Sattianaden at Palamcotta—Letters to friends—Character of Serfojee—Swartz's and Gericke's endeavours to instruct him—Mr. Pæzold's account of Swartz—Mr. Rottler's—Swartz at Negapatam—Letter to Serfojee—Death and Character of Mr. Chambers — Letter of Swartz to his widow — His return to Tanjore—Letter to Dr. Schultz.

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THOUGH the adopted son of the late rajah of Tanjore had been rescued from the controul of his successor, as already related, in the year 1790, the jealousy and animosity of Ameer Sing towards Serfojee, and the widows of his late brother, continued unabated, and had proceeded to so great

a length during the two following years, that in November 1792, it became absolutely necessary for the English government again to interfere for their protection.

It appears that the son-in-law of Ameer Sing, the husband of his only child, had recently died, without offspring. In the agony of his grief, as it may be charitably concluded, for a loss which deprived him of the hope of posterity, the rajah strangely imputed this unhappy event to enchantments practised by the Baie Sahebs, (widows of Tuljajee,) by means of a Pusary.[1] He even accused them of plotting, by the same abominable arts, against his own life; and, after condemning the Pusary to be hanged, for the alleged witchcraft, he caused a proclamation to be publicly read under the windows of the Baie Sahebs' residence, accusing them of instigating the wretched man to this atrocious crime.

While the rajah thus unjustly accused the widows of his late brother, he himself was guilty of something more palpably injurious, by causing a quantity of chillies, (long pepper,) and other ingredients, to be burnt under the windows of Serfojee's apartments; by which he and his attendants were nearly suffocated.

The following translation of a letter from Ser-

[1] Magician.

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fojee to his venerable friend and guardian, describes, with great simplicity, and with every appearance of truth, other instances of persecution and annoyance which he was then enduring. It will be read with some interest, as the production of a Hindoo prince, whose history is so intimately connected with that of Swartz.

"I will not," he writes, "again explain the various vexations which I have hitherto suffered from Ameer Sing, Maha rajah, because you know them, and have mentioned them to government.

"Though the governor has often admonished Ameer Sing to behave friendly to me, he has disregarded all exhortations.

"That I still live, I owe to the kindness of government.

"I will only mention one of the last grievances caused by Ameer Sing. Sultshana Baie Saheb behaved to me as a mother from my infancy. Upon her recent death, I wished to honour her by performing the funeral rites. But as the governor and council determined that Ameer Sing should fulfil that duty, I was quiet. As he insisted upon it, he should have performed it; but instead of this he sent a hired man, and he himself went out of the Fort as soon as the corpse was carried away; which disrespect to my mother grieved me very much.

"He continues to torment us. My teachers

he prevents from coming to me. My servants he confines; so that hardly any one will stay with me. When a merchant comes to sell cloth to me, the merchant and his cloth are detained. I would mention many things more; but why should I trouble you with all my griefs? I entreat you to send this my letter to the honourable Board, and to beseech them either to call me to Madras, which I heartily wish, or to put a guard of Europeans near the gate, to protect me and my two mothers; or to give me a room out of the Fort, in your garden.

"I entreat you to lay my grief before the honourable Board. Now they can help me; and I trust that they will protect me."

In transmitting the preceding letter to Sir Charles Oakley, who had succeeded to the presidency at Madras, Mr. Swartz, after confirming the complaints of Serfojee from his own knowledge, and particularly noticing the confinement of a Brahmin in his service, informed the governor, that on hearing of the latter circumstance he wrote to the rajah, requesting to know whether this had been done by his order, and reminding him, that it was altogether contrary to the will of the honourable Board, and to the decree of the Court of Directors of May 6, 1791.

"The animosity," he added, "is rather too great;

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so that if some effectual means are not used, none knows what may happen."

In another letter to Sir Charles Oakley, he observed, that the rajah was in so dreadful an agitation, "that it would not be surprising if he should fall into a state of sickness, which he without doubt would ascribe to witchcraft."

"That Serfojee, and the ladies," he continued, "are in danger, is very obvious and acknowledged by all. They have desired me to acquaint Lord Cornwallis with all this shameful work."

The general impression which the extraordinary conduct of the rajah, thus detailed, produced both at Tanjore and Madras, was that he was disordered in his intellects, and he was informed by the government that he would not be entrusted with the management of his country, until his mind should be more composed. In fact, it was found necessary, for this and other reasons, to retain the administration of the revenue for a few months longer.

It is remarkable that, in consequence of the rajah's former ill-treatment of Serfojee, government had been induced to consult Mr. Swartz as to the expediency of removing both him and the widow queens to Madras, and of declaring Serfojee presumptive heir to the Musnud. Before, however, the despatch containing that proposition could have reached Tanjore, Mr. Swartz's letter to

Sir Charles Oakley, communicating the rajah's outrageous behaviour, arrived; and left no doubt as to the necessity of removing Serfojee immediately from his perilous situation. Orders were accordingly transmitted to Tanjore, that Serfojee and the Baie Sahebs should be rescued from the vexatious interference of Ameer Sing; and that they and such members of their family as were willing to accompany them should be invited to Madras, where they would live unmolested, and the education of Serfojee, which had hitherto been much impeded, might be duly attended to. CHAP. XVIII. 1792.

On the 21st of November this plan, so contrary in some respects to the usual habits of Hindoo females, was carried into effect. A detachment of the company's troops, under the superintendence of Mr. Swartz, accomplished the removal of Serfojee, and the widows, from the palace of the late rajah, without occasioning the least disturbance. They soon afterwards left Tanjore, and on the 10th of January, 1793, the whole party, accompanied by their faithful friend and protector, safely reached the presidency. Ameer Sing, dreading the exposure of his folly, used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon them to remain; but they could not be persuaded to forego their intention. In addition to the immediate object of their personal safety and comfort, they had resolved to take this opportunity of stating their conviction of the vali- 1793.

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dity of Serfojee's adoption, and of obtaining such a full investigation of his claims as might lead to the deposition of Ameer Sing, and the elevation of Serfojee to the throne

The proceedings, which at length issued in the accomplishment of these important events, appear to have commenced by communications on the part of the widows of the late rajah, and of Mr. Swartz, as the guardian of Serfojee, to Lord Cornwallis, who had recently given peace to India, at the close of an arduous and successful contest with Tippoo Sultan. These consisted of documents and proofs so clear and satisfactory, that no doubt could be entertained as to the result of the investigation; and it may seem difficult to account for the delay which took place in bringing it to a conclusion. The return of the governor general to Europe, in the course of that year might, perhaps, have contributed to it. Certain it is, that it was not till four years afterwards that the question was finally decided. It will, therefore, be expedient to suspend the farther consideration of it till that period.

In the mean time it may not be irrelevant to observe, that the administration of the revenue of Tanjore was restored to Ameer Sing, in July, 1793, an arrangement which the Court of Directors would willingly have deferred till the determination of the inquiry into the rights of Serfojee.

During the assumption of Tanjore by the Madras government, the judicial regulations proposed by Mr. Swartz were carried into effect by the collectors with much benefit to the inhabitants. But no sooner had the management of the country again devolved on Ameer Sing, than the old system of mal-administration recommenced; Shevarow and his brothers regained, and even increased, their former ascendancy; having the rajah so completely in their power, that they did not scruple openly to declare that he owed his elevation to them, and that whenever they pleased they were able to dethrone him.

Mr. Swartz having made every necessary arrangement for the residence of Serfojee and his relatives at the presidency, consented, at the earnest desire of his missionary brethren, to spend some time at Vepery near Madras, with Mr. Gericke, to assist that excellent man in his laborious work.

"Here," he says, writing to a friend in England, "I have carefully observed the regulations made by Mr. Gericke, his admirable order respecting divine service, in the Malabar, Portuguese, and English tongues. On Sunday mornings, he preaches to the Tamulian or Malabar congregation, in the afternoon to the Portuguese, and in the evening to the English. He catechises every evening in one of these languages. I con-

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fess it has given me great satisfaction to behold that all is done with the greatest regularity and propriety. I am now his assistant in this delightful work. May God soon send him a faithful fellow-labourer! My dear brother, you may assure our venerable superiors, that they will rejoice at the last day in beholding the fruits of that work which they piously support."

The mutual testimony of two such men as Swartz and Gericke, eminently sincere and simple as they both were, is peculiarly gratifying. It was probably about this period, that the latter gave the following brief but beautiful sketch of his venerable senior to his friends in Germany, which, though varying in some interesting traits, so closely resembles the portraits previously drawn by Mr. Chambers and Mr. Cæmmerer, that it is impossible not to feel assured of the fidelity of each description to the admirable original.

"I found him," says Mr. Gericke, "as healthy and vigorous as he was several years ago. He devotes four hours every day to the instruction of English and Tamul children, and such native Christians as are prepared for baptism; after which he enters into the most cheerful and edifying conversation with those who visit him.

"The purity of his mind, his disinterestedness and strict integrity, his active zeal for the prosecution of the mission, and his constant attention

to the temporal as well as spiritual prosperity of the native Christians, his indefatigable exertions to procure them the means of subsistence, his pastoral wisdom and charity, his fervour in prayer, his eminent talent of engaging the attention even of mixed companies by the manner and tone of his conversation, his peculiar skill in noticing defects and reproving faults with so friendly and cheerful an air, that even the highest and proudest are not offended —these, and many other excellent qualities, but rarely found together, render him universally beloved and respected; and even the whole of his outward deportment, his silver locks, and serenely beaming eye, and all the features of his countenance, are calculated to inspire both veneration and affection.

"I spent a whole week with this patriarch, in a very delightful manner, and almost forgot in his society that I was sick."

During his stay with Mr. Gericke, Swartz, in a letter to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, dated Madras, Feb. 3, 1793, after observing that the admonitions and pious wishes of the Society, expressed in their secretary's correspondence, were received with due veneration, and that he and his brethren had during the preceding year been preserved and encouraged in proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation to the heathen around them, thus details the apparently

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alarming circumstances relating to the conversion of some of the natives which were before briefly alluded to.

"Many of them," he writes, "were baptized last year, and particularly some of those called kallar, who are looked upon as the worst, and somewhat resemble the thievish Arabs. These people having been instructed two months, were baptized. Being baptized, we insisted upon their becoming industrious in their proper business. All of them had very good fields, which they were exhorted to cultivate. To these exhortations we added ocular inspection. I went and visited them in their villages. Having examined them in respect of their knowledge, and prayed with them, which was commonly done in the presence of a great many heathens, I desired to see the fruits of their industry; on which they fully satisfied me. I then exhorted them to be honest, in paying the usual rent to government, which they soon did in a pleasing manner. The appearance was agreeable, and the prospect hopeful.

"As the watercourses in their district had not been cleaned for fifteen years, by which neglect the cultivation was impeded, and the harvest lessened, I entreated the collector to advance a sum of money to clear them, promising to send people to inspect the work. The work was completely done, and those inhabitants who formerly,

for want of water, had reaped only four thousand large measures, called kalam, reaped now fourteen thousand kalam, and rejoiced in the increase. The whole district reaped nearly one hundred thousand kalams more than they had done the preceding year.

" But this our joy was soon turned into grief. The heathens observing that many of their relations wished to embrace Christianity, and that such as had been baptized refused to join in their plundering expeditions, assembled and formed an encampment, threatening to extirpate Christianity. Now all looked dismal. Many of the Christians were encouraged by their relations, who were heathens, to form an opposite camp. But I exhorted the Christians to make use of other weapons, viz. prayer, humility, and patience; telling them in strong terms, that if they became aggressors, I should disown them. This disturbance lasted four months, and became very serious, as the malcontents neglected the cultivation of their own fields, and deterred others from doing it. I wrote to these misguided people, (for they had mischievous guides,) sent catechists to them, exhorted them not to commit such horrid sins, and reminded them that my former endeavours, so beneficial to them, had not merited such treatment. At last finding no opposition from the Christians, and not being willing to be looked

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upon as the aggressors, all went to their homes and work, ploughing and sowing with double diligence. My heart rejoiced at the kind over-ruling providence—surely he is a God that heareth prayer."

Together with the preceding letter, Swartz transmitted one from Mr. Jœnické, who had returned to Tanjore, which contained a gratifying report of his labours in conjunction with Sattianaden, who occasionally preached for him in his native language, at Palamcotta. "The Europeans," he observed, "regularly frequented the church, to which they were encouraged by the good example of the commanding officer. The Christians in the Tinnevelly district generally resided in the country, and formed several congregations. For their use he had erected some chapels, at the expense of Mr. Swartz. Many of those converts were Christians, not in name only but in reality. There is every reason to hope," he added, "that at a future period Christianity will prevail in the Tinnevelly country. Himself and Sattianaden had severally made journeys into parts of the country where the word of God had never been preached; and the people were generally attentive, and desirous of hearing; they assembled in hundreds, and showed him every respect, and numbers had conducted him from

village to village. Sattianaden had experienced the same attention. More than thirty persons came afterwards to Palamcotta to be instructed and baptized. Such happy effects," he remarked, "would often be experienced, could such journeys be frequently repeated." CHAP. XVIII. 1793.

In a postscript to this letter, Mr. Swartz added, that since his arrival at Madras, he had frequently conversed with Sir Charles Oakley, and represented to him the usefulness of the provincial schools, in consequence of which the governor had consented to the establishment of one or two more, as soon as opportunities should occur.

The following extracts from letters to two of his friends in Germany and England, during his residence in this presidency, will be found peculiarly interesting.

"I received your welcome letter," he writes to one of them, "a few days ago. God be humbly praised for all his goodness to you and yours, and for all the success with which he has blessed you in your ministry. Next to our own share in reconciling grace, the highest blessing which God can bestow upon us is to labour with success in the salvation of souls.

"As to me, I am tolerably strong, though in my sixty-seventh year, and during my stay at Madras, where I have been some time, I have been enabled to preach three times on the Sun-

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day, without being exhausted. It is quite a refreshment to me when I can preach the gospel of Christ. And herein the gracious God has heard my prayer, that he has given me constant opportunities of preaching his word, without being withheld from it by lingering illness; for which his name be praised." He then proceeds to give some account of his schools, and provision for orphans, and adds, "Being unmarried, this is not a burden to me. The poor shall be my heirs."

"Your letter," thus he writes to another friend, "in which you mention the death of our valuable and much-loved brother, Mr. Pasche, has been received. The high esteem we entertained for him only tends to render our bereavement more severe. With him it is now unspeakably well. He is with Christ—in whom he believed, whom he loved, and whose cause he so gladly promoted. His revered memory will remain a blessing with us. May God excite us all, and me especially, to pursue our calling vigorously; and when our hour arrives, may we follow him in peace!"

The following account of the young Serfojee, in a letter to a third correspondent at this period, shows the pains which the pious missionary had taken to inculcate upon his distinguished pupil the principles of true religion, and the benefit which he had at that time derived from his instructions.

"The young man," he says, "is of a very docile, affectionate, and gentle disposition; at least he has given proofs of it hitherto. *I have often explained to him the doctrines of holy Scripture*, and set before him the examples of real goodness which it records. That of Joseph made a strong impression on him. Frequently, when his servants were complaining and murmuring, he has turned to them and said: 'Have you never heard that it is our duty to humble ourselves; and that God at length helps those who are bowed down, as he did in the case of Joseph?'"

In a subsequent letter Mr. Swartz thus reverts to this interesting subject; and the following passage affords another example of his singular disinterestedness.

"For two years I have discharged the duties of a resident. A resident usually receives seven thousand star pagodas, or £3000 sterling. I have not received any thing, nor have I asked it.

"My journey to Madras, I undertook at the desire of government, as tutor of Serfojee. The expenses of the journey I *bore myself*. I was obliged for conscience sake to undertake it, as the legal guardian of the young man. His life was in the utmost danger. He is now at Madras, learns English, and reads good books. What effect this may have on his future life, is known to Him alone who trieth the heart and the reins.

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Lord Cornwallis behaves very kindly to him, and said to me, 'I wish the young man were rajah already.' When I was about to quit Madras, the governor said to me, 'But the Tanjore family will be without superintendence!' However, when I told him that Mr. Gerické would undertake the office, in my stead, he was satisfied."

Of Mr. Gerické's pious endeavours to fulfil the charge thus entrusted to him, a pleasing proof is afforded by the following extract from a letter, which occurs in the recently published Memoirs of Mrs. Hannah More.[1]

"I received a letter," says a friend of that admirable lady, "by the last ships from India, from Mrs. Toriano. She mentions having seen at Madras, a missionary of the name of Gerické, who visited her very frequently, and in whose society she found great comfort. He told her that the rajah of Tanjore had been for a short time under his care, and that he was fond of English books. Mr. Gerické put into his hands Mrs. H. More's tracts. The rajah preferred them to the Rambler, which somebody had given him, and declared he liked Mrs. More's works better than any of the English books he had ever read. Mr. Gerické wishes that Mrs. More should be made acquainted with this, that she may know how extensively useful her writings are. He told Mrs. Toriano there were

[1] Vol. ii. p. 433.

few things he desired so much, as to see and converse with Mrs. H. More and Mr. Wilberforce; that from the 'Estimate of the religion of the fashionable world,' he had often taken sermons, but did not know, till she told him, who was the author of it.'"

Mr. Swartz quitted Madras Sept. 20, accompanied for several miles by the young prince and his suite. Mr. Pæzold, the new missionary for Madras, was also the companion of his journey.

"We rested in the evening," observes Mr. Pæzold, in his diary of this interesting journey, "at Tripatore, a large heathen place, distinguished by two celebrated idol temples, which are situated on an eminence. Mr. Swartz embraced the opportunity of entering into a long conversation with a number of Brahmins and of other heathen. He addressed them in a most eloquent and impressive manner, powerfully contrasting the follies and corruptions of heathenism, and the state of awful blindness and delusion under which its professors laboured, with the light and purity of the Christian religion, and its perfect accordance with the dictates of sound and enlightened reason. I observed with wonder and delight the eagerness and attention with which the heathen population listened to his instructive discourses. But to attract and keep up such attention, one really must possess the talents and influ-

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ence of a Swartz—his intimate acquaintance with the native language, his prudence, experience, and commanding authority. For a considerable time he continued the conversation in a standing position, and though I did not sufficiently understand the Malabar dialect, in which he addressed the numerous assembly, I could still perceive from their eyes, their gestures, and the whole of their outward deportment, how deeply interested they felt. Indeed when certain questions were proposed, or certain answers given, I repeatedly heard them exclaim, 'Surely this is true; this is right; thus it should be.' The shades of night were coming on, and Mr. Swartz was preparing to retire to a resting-place, but the people wished to detain him still longer. 'Stay with us,' was their exclamation, 'we wish to listen to you still further. Sit down, both of you, you are tired by standing.' We therefore sat down on the steps of one of their temples, near an enormous idol car, which during their festivals is sometimes drawn by two or three thousand people. Mr. Swartz protracted his addresses for another half hour, and when he left them they all united in thanking him for the pains bestowed upon them. But should you, however, ask such people afterwards, what reason they would assign for not embracing a doctrine which it was impossible for them to refute, and which they could not help

pronouncing truly admirable, they return answers like these: 'We certainly should embrace it, were it not for the world, and our means of living. The world would hate, despise, insult us. And even from your own Christian people we should meet with ridicule and contempt. And how can we refuse the demands of nature? You missionaries cannot support us, nor would it be fair to require you to do it. Your governors will make no provision for us. Besides, our ancestors have constantly professed the same religion which we are professing.'"

Mr. Pæzold subsequently refers to his intercourse with Mr. Swartz upon this occasion, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Uebele.

"In the progress of this journey I derived much pure enjoyment from the conversations which I was favoured to carry on with that excellent man; they were instructive and delightful. I wish you could have listened to his discourses, or still more have taken a part in them. He did not conceal from me the difficulties which I should have to encounter in the performance of my missionary offices. Blessed be God, he is still full of life and cheerfulness.

"The first resting-place in our journey to Cuddalore was the Dutch fortress Sadras, where the governor hospitably entertained us, and where

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Mr. Swartz preached to the Dutch in German, and to the Portuguese in their own vernacular tongue. Mr. Swartz remained in this place until the 7th of October, in order to gratify the earnest desire expressed by the Malabar and Portuguese Christians to receive the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He prepared them a whole week for the enjoyment of that sacred ordinance, with an activity and perseverance, which I cannot sufficiently admire. One Sunday he preached three times in English, Malabar, and Portuguese, while I read the prayers in English.

"On the 9th of October Mr. Swartz reached Tranquebar, to which place I had gone before him. He remained there till the 14th. I was again struck by the whole tenour of his conversational addresses. He knew admirably how to combine instruction with the most pleasant entertainment. He constantly kept the great end of his missionary work in view, and yet he won all hearts by the urbanity of his manners, and the sweetness and pleasantness of his disposition. He knows how to convey to his hearers admirable lessons of practical wisdom, and to draw from the localities of the respective places which he visits, from the prejudices and modes of thinking of the inhabitants, and from their diversified manners and customs, maxims of prudence which are peculiarly

calculated to facilitate to the missionary labourer access to the understanding and the hearts of the people.

"I studied Malabar (Tamul) on the road, but made little progress. 'Only patience,' Mr. Swartz says, 'we cannot take firm steps at once. When we arrive at Tanjore, I will instruct you according to rule, and you will soon learn to go.'"

On reaching Tranquebar he found Mr. Rottler, one of the brethren of that mission, who afterwards removed to Vepery, in a weak state of health, for the recruiting of which Mr. Swartz invited him to Tanjore, whither he soon afterwards proceeded. Writing from thence, after describing the forts and the town, the mission houses, church, and gardens, Mr. Rottler thus mentions what was, doubtless, a source of delightful recreation to the venerable missionary, as well as of utility to his establishment.

"Mr. Swartz loves trees. He has in his garden shadock, orange, and lemon trees, some of them in full bearing; likewise the moringa, the cotton-tree, entire avenues of mango, tamarind, and teak trees, besides several others. Nor are flowers and flowering shrubs forgotten. There is the bignonia, the michelia champaca, the guettarda, mimusops, plumeria alba, gardenia florida, myrtles, roses, and several kinds of nyctanthes. Besides these,

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I found here the ixora alba, and, as a great rarity, a small olive tree, and the ixora chinensis. A fine hedge of the justicia picta (called by the Moors the smiling leaf) is a great ornament. To this large garden is attached a kitchen-garden, parted off from it by a lane; and which supplies the table almost all the year through, The garden contains but two species of palm, the cocoa and the areca-palm; the date-palm is, however, very common around Tanjore. It has also vines. In the dry season it is watered from a tank."[1]

Mr. Swartz, after a short stay with his brethren at Tranquebâr, visited Negapatam. Here he had an opportunity of exerting his benevolent influence in behalf of the poor Protestant Christians.

"I found," he says, "many families in actual want. Formerly the place was wealthy, and the inhabitants in prosperity; but now the fortifications are entirely razed, and its trade is nearly annihilated. Those who held offices under the Dutch Company, are in the utmost distress. My pity was excited for the poor people; and as it was not possible for private individuals adequately to relieve them, I wrote to the government at Madras, represented their distress, and solicited for help. The government ordered them a monthly allowance of forty pagodas. God be praised for this relief." It is satisfactory to add, that this sum

[1] Memoirs of Mr. Jœnické, p. 105.

continues to be paid, and is distributed under the direction of the Society's missionaries.

From Negapatam, Mr. Swartz wrote the following paternal and judicious letter to Serfojee, rajah.

" My dear Friend,

" I received your kind letter when I was at Cuddalore. I praise God who preserved your health, and am happy to hear you are endeavouring to improve in useful learning. The knowledge of the English language may be to you very useful. Besides, try to get a sufficient knowledge in arithmetic, learn to write a good, and, if possible, an elegant letter in English and Mahratta. By this you will facilitate your business, and please your correspondents. I am happy to hear that Dada enjoys a better state of health. I hope and wish that he may assist you as much as possible in arithmetic and writing letters. Besides, tell him to acquaint you with all the country's accounts, and how to make, and how to examine them. If you are deficient in that point, all that you do will prove a drudgery instead of pleasure.

" Pay always a proper regard to the Baie Sahebs, and show them that you honour them notwithstanding their infirmities. I need not tell you that my good brother, Mr. Gericke, will give you

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the best advice, and I hope that you will be willing to follow it. *Above all, I entreat you to seek the favour of the only true God.* If He be your friend, all will be well. If you leave and provoke him, all will go wrong. Pray to him daily; for he hears our prayers, and helps us.

"Tell Dottagee that I have received his letters, which have pleased me very much. I shall answer as soon as I arrive at Tanjore.

"Give my respects to the two ladies, and tell them that I pray to God to make them truly happy.

"May God bless, strengthen, and guide you by his divine Spirit! So wishes,

"My dear friend,

"Your affectionate friend and guardian,

"C. F. SWARTZ."[1]

"Negapatam, Oct. 24th, 1793."

It was in the course of this year that Swartz lost his distinguished and valued friend, Mr. Cham-

[1] This and three other letters from Mr. Swartz to Serfojee, which shortly follow, have been transmitted to the author since the publication of the first edition of these Memoirs, by the Rev. A. C. Thomson, one of the missionaries of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel at Tanjore. "He hopes," he says, "to obtain others still more interesting;" which, combined with the testimonies elsewhere adduced, amply evince the anxiety of the pious writer to promote the religious improvement of the young rajah.

bers. The death of that excellent person was announced in the annual report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge with expressions of great concern, and repeated in that of the following year with renewed regret, as an event which had deeply affected the interests of true religion in India, and particularly those of the Calcutta mission. This had been originally established by Mr. Kiernander,[1] and during many years had been ably and zealously superintended by that eminent missionary. He had, indeed, for a time, been impeded in his great work by the allurements of riches, and the attractions of worldly society;[2] but it should never be forgotten that when he became, by his marriage, possessed of considerable wealth, he nobly erected at his sole expense, and at the cost of no less a sum than £12,000, a mission church, two houses for missionaries, and a school-room, where, in conjunction with several distinguished converts from the Roman Catholic church, he laboured successfully both among the natives and the nominal members of that church, till the year

[1] See vol. i. p. 126.

[2] Mr. Kiernander was intimately acquainted with Lord Clive, and lived much in the highest circle in Calcutta. Forsaken, however, in his latter days, by the world, he retraced, in humiliation and sorrow, the steps of his early piety; and his end, though painful and affecting, was full of peace, and of Christian hope.

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1788. At that advanced period of his life, oppressed by age and infirmity, and reduced to poverty by habits of unbounded liberality and the failure of some imprudent speculations, he was compelled to resign his office, and to transfer the property of the mission church, school, and burial-ground, to the Rev. David Brown, Mr. Chambers, and the late Charles Grant, Esq., the two latter of whom had generously united in the purchase of those buildings with the sole view of preserving a foundation for a mission at Calcutta. Mr. Chambers, as well as Mr. Brown, occasionally corresponded with the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, for the purpose of forwarding this great object. Many efforts were made to maintain that important post; and for several years Mr. Brown, and the late Archdeacon Owen, performed divine service at the mission church, in the hope that the providence of God would prosper the Society's endeavours for the diffusion of religious knowledge in Bengal. Two missionaries were successively sent out to Calcutta; but both within a short period abandoned the work; and a few years after the death of Mr. Chambers, the Society felt itself compelled to relinquish Calcutta as one of its missionary stations. Repeatedly, however, were the exertions of Mr. Chambers in the sacred cause, acknowledged by the Society; nor can it be

doubted that the death of so able and zealous a friend, tended considerably to the present disappointment of their hopes as to that quarter of the country. But his efforts, and those of his excellent coadjutors, were not in vain. The mission church continued, by the pious exertions of Brown, and subsequently of Buchanan and Thomason, to cherish a spirit of zeal for the propagation of Christianity at that Presidency till a later period, when it was revived and invigorated under the higher and more powerful auspices of the episcopal establishment in India.

It will readily be imagined that the loss of a friend so highly and so justly esteemed as Mr. Chambers, must have been deeply felt by Swartz. It is remarkable, however, that men, who, like him, have a strong and habitual impression of the frailty and uncertainty of all human things, combined with a lively faith in the infinite importance and permanent reality of things eternal, with an unshaken confidence in the wisdom and goodness of God, and with an animating hope of future happiness, are accustomed to express themselves with great calmness and moderation under the trials and vicissitudes of life, and to be chiefly anxious to promote submission to the will of God, and acquiescence in the dispensations of his providence. Such was eminently the characteristic

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of Buchanan, and such is the tenour of the following letter to the widow of Mr. Chambers; which, if it should be thought deficient in the warm expression of sympathising sorrow, breathes the most exalted spirit of Christian resignation, and imparts the richest consolation.

"DEAR MADAM,

"The loss of a dear husband, which you have sustained, is felt by you; and as he was my dear friend, with whom I had contracted an intimate friendship, is, you may be sure, felt by me. But God, who is the giver of our life, has a right to take it from us whenever he pleaseth.

"If we die in the Lord, united to him who has redeemed us, and having a share in his precious atonement, we are gainers by death, though the survivors may lose. It is therefore our duty to be resigned to the will of our Lord. 'Not my will, but thine, O Father, be done!' This is the most difficult lesson; but at the same time a lesson which is attended with the greatest blessing. It is natural to shed a tear over the grave of our dear friends; but it is truly Christian to resign our will to the will of God.

"Whatever you, dear madam, or your children have lost by the death of our friend, God is able and willing to make it up.

"When we give our hearts to him, we promise that we will be pleased with the ways in which he leads us.

"When our friends are called away, we are to remember that they are with the Lord; and that it is our happiness to be disengaged from the world, and to become heavenly-minded. May the death of our deceased friend move our hearts to look upwards, and to be prepared for the coming of our Lord!

"God, who is the friend of widows and the father of the orphan, will, no doubt, take care of you and your children. Put your trust in him, and all will be well.

"The commission which you have been pleased to send me by the Rev. Mr. Brown, I have executed as well as I could, and have got a pleasing promise which I hope will be fulfilled. God knows a thousand ways of supplying our wants, though it seems very difficult to us how to comprehend it. He is called the hearer of prayer. Let your heart be confident when you lay your wants before him. Trust in him, and you will never be confounded. May Jesus be your wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption! Let us not glory in any thing below; but in him who is the source of all our blessings.

"Commending you and your dear children to

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the care, protection, and blessing of a reconciled God, I am sincerely,

"Dear Madam,

"Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Cuddalore, Oct. 5, 1793."

To this calm but touching and elevated expression of Christian affection, the following brief postscript was added by Mr. Gericke, in a similar strain of subdued feeling, but pious and emphatic consolation.

"The Rev. Mr. Swartz sent this from Cuddalore to me open, desiring me to add a word of comfort, to seal and to send it. I pray God, who alone can comfort widows, that he may comfort you by manifesting himself to you as your God, in a degree superior to what he did, when you had so much more creature comfort; and am,

"Most sincerely yours,

"C. W. GERICKE."

Mr. Swartz arrived at Tanjore on the 2nd of November, after an absence of eleven months. Mr. Pæzold, who witnessed his return, observes, "I could not remain unmoved when I saw how the Christians, great and small, parents and children, thronged around this beloved teacher, every

one trying to get nearest to him, and be the first to greet him with—'O Sir! God be praised.' The scene was rendered the more affecting by Mr. Swartz himself being unable to refrain from tears of joy."

In a letter to Professor Schultz a few months afterwards, he replies to some inquiries respecting the recent termination of the war in Mysore.

"Having lost," he says, "a great part of his army, Tippoo offered to capitulate. He perceived that Seringapatam would soon fall, and sent an ambassador to sue for peace. The articles proposed were mortifying to his pride—for he has lost half his territories, and was required to pay a heavy sum, and surrender his children as hostages; but he preferred suffering the loss, rather than risk the storming of his capital.

"When I was at Madras, the governor asked me if I would not call on Tippoo's children. I did so, and found the younger, who is about nine or ten years old, full of animation. He read several Persian verses to me concerning the Providence of God, and our duty to submit without repining to his allotment. The elder boy was silent. It is said that he stammers a little, and therefore is not fond of speaking before strangers.

"Tippoo has paid the money. He is humbled, but not conciliated. He is now occupied in bringing his army into good condition again. He has

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got over the grief occasioned by his loss; but he has not forgotten it."

These and similar notices of public affairs which occur in the journals and letters of Swartz, though brief, are distinct and valuable; and while there is reason to regret that they are not more full and frequent, their incidental occurrence only tends to illustrate his entire devotedness to the great and all-absorbing object of his life and labours—the cause of Christ, and the promotion of his gospel.

CHAPTER XIX.

Debate in Parliament on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1793—Letter of Mr. Swartz in reply to some reflections of Mr. M. Campbell on Missionaries, in the course of that debate—Letters to Serfojee, and to Mr. and Mrs. Duffin—Additional testimony of Mr. Pæzold—Report to the Society for the year 1795—Letter to a friend.

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Upon the renewal of the charter of the East India Company, in the year 1793, it was resolved in a committee in the House of Commons, "that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement." In pursuance of this wise and benevolent resolution, a distinguished member of the House,[1] who was upon all occasions the zealous

[1] The late William Wilberforce, Esq.

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advocate of plans calculated to advance the interests of humanity and religion, and to ameliorate the condition of mankind, proposed certain clauses in the Bill then in progress for the renewal of the Company's charter, in favour of the establishment of free schools and the encouragement of Christian missionaries in India.

Important as this proposition was, and directly according with the professed intentions of the legislature, it was one which had at that period excited so little public attention or concern, that considering the prejudices of many persons, both in and out of Parliament, connected with India, it is not surprising that it should be unfavourably received. The late Lord Melville, then President of the Board of Control, acknowledged the importance of the measure, and promised not to lose sight of it, but expressed his doubts as to its present expediency, and his wish to obtain fuller information upon the subject. Mr. Wilberforce, in consequence, consented to withdraw the clauses in question; pledging himself, however, to bring them forward upon some future and more propitious occasion.[1]

[1] How nobly this truly Christian senator redeemed his pledge, may be seen by referring to the proceedings in parliament twenty years afterwards; when an ecclesiastical establishment was provided for British India, and facilities were afforded to Christian missions in that country.

In the course of the debate upon this interesting subject, Mr. Montgomery Campbell, who had a few years since held an official situation at Madras, took occasion to cast some severe reflections on the character of the native converts on the coast of Coromandel; and while speaking in terms of high and deserved respect of Swartz, to depreciate the value of his lahours, and to treat as visionary the hope of converting the Hindoos to Christianity. The report of these injurious observations having reached him, unaccustomed as he was to controversy, and abhorrent as every appearance of boasting was from his disposition and habits, he felt it to be his duty to vindicate both his converts and himself from the unjust aspersions which had been thrown upon them, and to assert the beneficial results of missionary exertion in India.

With this view, he addressed a letter to the secretary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in which he triumphantly replied to the animadversions of his parliamentary opponent, and nobly vindicated the cause of missions. "Perhaps," observes a very competent judge upon this subject,[1] "no Christian defence has appeared in these latter ages more characteristic of the apostolic simplicity and primitive energy of truth, than this apology of the venerable Swartz." It

[1] Dr. Buchanan.—Ecclesiastical Memoir, p. 66.

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was, with great propriety, published in the annual report of the Society, preceded by the following emphatic testimony.

"As the Society, after forty years experience, have had constant reason to approve of Mr. Swartz's integrity and veracity as a correspondent, his zeal as a promoter of Christian knowledge, and his labours as a missionary, they take this opportunity of acknowledging his faithful services, and recommending his letter to the consideration of the public, as containing a just statement of facts, relating to the mission: believing that he is incapable of departing from the truth, in the minutest particular."

To this deserved testimonial of the Society was added that of the late Marquess Cornwallis, from his personal knowledge, and from what he had heard in India, to the high respectability of Swartz's character.

The letter itself contains various particulars respecting the beneficial influence of Christianity, and of the excellent missionary and his fellow-labourers in the south of India, which have been already detailed in these Memoirs; but though many of the events and circumstances to which he refers have been thus anticipated, there is a vividness and variety in the manner in which they are related, which invests them with fresh interest, and compensates for any repetition in the narrative.

Some additional facts also are mentioned, which, combined with the manly sense and elevated piety which it contains, tend greatly to strengthen the general effect of this admirable defence of Christian missions. The letter is as follows:—

"Tanjore, Feb. 13th, 1794.

"REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

"As his Majesty's 74th regiment is partly stationed at Tanjore, and partly at Vallam, six English miles distant from Tanjore, we commonly go once in a week to Vallam, to perform divine service to four companies of that regiment.

"When I lately went to that place, the 210th number of a newspaper, called the Courier, Friday evening, May 24, 1793, was communicated to me.

"In that paper, I found a paragraph, delivered by Mr. Montgomery Campbell, who came out to India with Sir Archibald Campbell, in the station of a private secretary, wherein my name was mentioned in the following manner.

"'Mr. Montgomery Campbell gave his decided vote against the clause, and reprobated the idea of converting the Gentoos. It is true, missionaries have made proselytes of the Parriars; but they were the lowest order of people, and had even degraded the religion they professed to embrace.

"'Mr. Swartz, whose character was held so de-

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servedly high, could not have any reason to boast of the purity of his followers: they were proverbial for their profligacy. An instance occurred to his recollection perfectly in point. He had been preaching for many hours to this caste of proselytes, on the heinousness of theft and, in the heat of his discourse had taken off his stock, when that and his gold buckle were stolen by one of his virtuous and enlightened congregation. In such a description of natives did the doctrine of the missionaries operate. Men of high caste would spurn at the idea of changing the religion of their ancestors.'

"As this paragraph is found in a public paper, I thought it would not displease the honourable Society to make a few observations on it; not to boast, (which I detest,) but to declare the plain truth, and to defend my brethren and myself.

"About seventeen years ago, when I resided at Trichinopoly, I visited the congregation at Tanjore. In my road, I arrived very early at a village inhabited by collaries, (a set of people who are infamous for stealing;) even the name of a *collary*, (or better, *kallar*,) signifieth a *thief*. These collaries make nightly excursions, in order to rob. They drive away bullocks and sheep, and whatever they can find, for which outrage, they annually pay fifteen hundred chakr, or seven hundred and fifty pagodas, to the rajah. Of this caste

of people,[1] many live in the Tanjore country; still more in Tondiman's country; and likewise in the nabob's country.

"When I arrived at one of those villages called Pudaloor, I took off my stock, putting it upon a sand-bank. Advancing a little, to look out for the man who carried my linen clothes, I was regardless of the stock; at which time some thievish boys took it away. When the inhabitants heard of the theft, they desired me to confine all those boys, and to punish them as severely as I pleased. But I refused to do that, not thinking that the trifle which I had lost was worth so much trouble.

"That such boys, whose fathers are professed thieves, should commit a theft, can be no matter of wonder. All the inhabitants of that village were heathens; not one Christian family was found therein.[2] Many of our gentlemen, travelling through that village, have been robbed. The trifle of a buckle I did therefore not lose by a Christian, as Mr. Montgomery Campbell will have it, but by heathen boys. Neither did I preach at that time. Mr. Campbell says that I

[1] Obviously resembling the ancient predatory tribes of Scotland.

[2] In the year 1809, Mr. Kohlhoff, referring, in a letter to the Society, to this story, mentions that many Christians were then to be found in that village.

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preached two hours. I did not so much as converse with any man. This poor story, totally misrepresented, is alleged by Mr. M. Campbell to prove the profligacy of Christians, whom he called, with a sneer, *virtuous and enlightened people.* If he has no better proof, his conclusion is built upon a bad foundation, and I shall not admire his logic: truth is against him.

"Neither is it true, that the best part of those people who have been instructed, are Parriars. Had Mr. M. Campbell visited, even once, our church, he would have observed that *more than two thirds were of the higher caste;* and so it is at Tranquebar and Vepery.

"Our intention is not to boast; but this I may safely say, that many of those who have been instructed, have left this world with comfort, and with a well-grounded hope of everlasting life. That some of those who have been instructed and baptized, have abused the benefit of instruction, is certain. But all sincere servants of God, nay, even the apostles, have experienced this grief.

"It is asserted, that a missionary is a disgrace to any country. Lord Macartney and the late General Coote would have entertained a very different opinion. They, and many other gentlemen, know and acknowledge, that the missionaries have been beneficial to government, and a comfort

to the country. This I am able to prove in the strongest manner. Many gentlemen, who live now in England, and in this country, would corroborate my assertion.

"That the Rev. Mr. Gerické has been of eminent service at Cuddalore, every gentleman, who was at that place when the war broke out, knows. He was the instrument, in the hands of Providence, by which Cuddalore was saved from plunder and bloodshed. He saved many gentlemen from becoming prisoners to Hyder, which Lord Macartney kindly acknowledged.

"When Negapatam, that rich and populous city, fell into the deepest poverty, by the unavoidable consequences of war, Mr. Gerické behaved like a father to the distressed inhabitants. He forgot that he had a family to provide for. Many impoverished families were supported by him; so that when I, a few months ago, preached and administered the sacrament in that place, I saw many who owed their own and their children's lives to his disinterested care. Surely this, my friend, could not be called a disgrace to that place. When the honourable Society ordered him to attend the congregation at Madras, all lamented his departure. And at Madras he is esteemed by the governor, and many other gentlemen, to this day.

"It is a most disagreeable task to speak of

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one's self. However, I hope that the honourable Society will not look upon some observations which I am about to make as a vain and sinful boasting, but rather as a necessary self defence. Neither the missionaries, nor any of the Christians, have hurt the welfare of the country.

"In the course of the late war, the fort of Tanjore was in a very critical condition. A powerful enemy was near; the people in the fort numerous; and not provision even for the garrison. There was grain enough in the country, but we had no bullocks to bring it into the fort. When the country people formerly brought paddy into the fort, the rapacious dubashes deprived them of their due pay. Hence, all confidence was lost; so that the inhabitants drove away their cattle, refusing to assist the fort. The late rajah ordered, nay, entreated the people, by his managers, to come and help us; but all was in vain.

"At last, the rajah said to one of our principal gentlemen,— *We all, you and I, have lost our credit; let us try whether the inhabitants will trust Mr. Swartz.* Accordingly he sent me a blank paper, empowering me to make a proper agreement with the people. There was no time for hesitation. The sepoys fell down as dead people, being emaciated with hunger. Our streets were lined with dead corpses every morning. Our

condition was deplorable. I sent, therefore, letters, every where round about, promising to pay every one with my own hands; and to indemnify them for the loss of every bullock which might be taken by the enemy. In one or two days, I got above a thousand oxen, and sent one of our catechists, and other Christians, into the country. They went at the risk of their lives, made all possible haste, and brought into the fort, in a very short time, eighty thousand kalams. By this means, the fort was saved. When all was over, I paid the people, (even with some money which belonged to others,) made them a small present, and sent them home.

"The next year, when Colonel Braithwaite, with his whole detachment, was made prisoner, Major Alcock commanded this fort, and behaved very kindly to the poor starving people. We were then, a second time, in the same miserable condition. The enemy always invaded the country, when the harvest was nigh at hand. I was again desired to try my former expedient, and succeeded. The people knowing that they were not to be deprived of their pay, came with their cattle. But now the danger was greater, as the enemy was very near. The Christians conducted the inhabitants to proper places, surely with no small danger of losing their lives. *Accordingly they wept, and went, and supplied the fort with*

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grain. When the people were paid, I strictly inquired whether any of the Christians had taken from them a present. They all said, 'No, no! As we were regularly paid, we offered to your catechist a cloth of small value, but he absolutely refused it.'

"But Mr. M. Campbell says, that the Christians are profligate to a proverb. If he were near me, I would explain to him who are the profligate people who drain the country. When a dubash, in the space of ten or fifteen years, scrapes together two, three, or four lacks of pagodas, is not this extortion a high degree of profligacy? Nay, government was obliged to send an order that three of those Gentoo dubashes should quit the Tanjore country. The enormous crimes committed by them, filled the country with complaints; but I have no mind to enumerate them.

"It is asserted, that the inhabitants of the country would suffer by missionaries. If they are sincere Christians, it is impossible that the inhabitants should suffer any damage by them; if they are not what they profess to be, they ought to be dismissed.

"When Sir Archibald Campbell was governor, and Mr. M. Campbell his private secretary, the inhabitants of Tanjore were so miserably oppressed by the manager and the Madras

dubashes, that they quitted the country. Of course, all cultivation ceased. In the month of June it should commence; but nothing was done, even at the beginning of September. Every one dreaded the calamity of a famine. I entreated the rajah to remove that shameful oppression, and to recall the inhabitants. He sent them word that justice should be done to them; but they disbelieved his promises. He then desired *me* to write to them, and to assure them, that he, at my intercession, would show kindness to them. I did so. All immediately returned; and first of all, the kallar, (or, as they are commonly called, collaries,) believed my word; so that seven thousand men came back on one day. The other inhabitants followed their example. When I exhorted them to exert themselves to the utmost, because the time for cultivation was almost lost, they replied in the following manner:—'*As you have showed kindness to us, you shall not have reason to repent of it:* we intend to work night and day, to show our regard for you.' Sir Archibald Campbell was happy when he heard of it; and we had the satisfaction of having a better crop than the preceding year.

"As there was hardly any administration of justice, I begged and entreated the rajah to establish it in his country. 'Well,' said he, 'let me know wherein my people are oppressed.' I did

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so. He immediately consented to my proposal, and told his manager that he should feel his indignation, if the oppression did not cease immediately. But as he soon died, he did not see the execution.

"When the present rajah began his reign, I put Sir Archibald Campbell in mind of that necessary point. He desired me to make a plan for a court of justice, which I did; but it was soon neglected by the servants of the rajah, who commonly sold justice to the best bidder.

"When the honourable Company took possession of the country, during the war, the plan for introducing justice was re-assumed; by which many people were made happy. But when it was restored to the rajah, the former irregularities took place.

"During the assumption, government desired me to assist the gentlemen collectors. The district towards the west of Tanjore had been very much neglected, so that the water-courses had not been cleansed for the last fifteen years. I proposed that the collector should advance five hundred pagodas to cleanse them. He consented, if I would inspect the business. The work was begun and finished, being superintended by Christians. All that part of the country rejoiced in getting one hundred thousand kalams more than before. The inhabitants confessed

that, instead of one kalam, they now reaped four.

"No native has suffered by Christians; none has complained of it. On the contrary, one of the richest inhabitants said to me, 'Sir, if you send a person to us, send us one who has learned all your ten commandments.' For he and many hundred natives had been present when I explained the Christian doctrine to heathen and Christians.

"The inhabitants dread the conduct of a Madras dubash. These people lend money to the rajah, at an exorbitant interest, and then are permitted to collect their money and interest in an appointed district.[1] It is needless to mention the consequences.

"When the collaries committed great outrages, in their plundering expeditions, sepoys were sent out to adjust matters; but it had no effect. Government desired *me* to inquire into that thievish business. I therefore sent letters to the head collaries. They appeared. We found out, in some degree, how much the Tanjore and Tondimans, and the nabob's collaries had stolen; and we insisted upon restoration, which was done accordingly. At last, all gave it in writing, that

[1] This flagrant abuse was a few years afterwards corrected, by the transfer of the collection of the revenue from the rajah to the East India Company.

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they would steal no more. This promise they kept very well for eight months, and then they began their old work; however, not as before. Had that inspection over their conduct been continued, they might have been made useful people. I insisted upon their cultivating their fields, which they readily did. But if the demands become exorbitant, they have no resource, as they think, but of plundering.

"At length some of the thievish collaries desired to be instructed. I said, 'I am obliged to instruct you; but I am afraid that you will prove very bad Christians.' Their promises were fair. I instructed them; and when they had a tolerable knowledge, I baptized them. I then exhorted them to steal no more, but to work industriously. After that, I visited them, and, having examined their knowledge, I desired to see their work. I observed with pleasure that their fields were excellently cultivated. 'Now,' said I, 'one thing remains to be done. You must pay your tribute readily, and not wait till it is exacted by military force;' which, otherwise, is their custom. Soon after that, I found that they had paid off their tribute exactly. The only complaint against those Christian collaries was, that they refused to go upon plundering expeditions, as they had done before.

"Now, I am well aware that some will accuse

me of having boasted. I confess the charge willingly, but lay all the blame upon those who have constrained me to commit that folly. I might have enlarged my account; but, fearing that some characters would have suffered by it, I stop here. One thing, however, I affirm, before God and man, THAT IF CHRISTIANITY, IN ITS PLAIN AND UNDISGUISED FORM, WERE PROPERLY PROMOTED, THE COUNTRY WOULD NOT SUFFER, BUT BE BENEFITED BY IT.

"If Christians were employed in some important offices, they should, if they misbehaved, be doubly punished; but to reject them entirely, is not right, and discourageth.

"The glorious God and our blessed Redeemer, commanded his apostles to preach the gospel to all nations. The knowledge of God, of his divine perfections, and of his mercy to mankind, may be abused; but there is no other method of reclaiming men than by instructing them well. To hope that the heathens will lead a good life without the knowledge of God, is a chimera.

"The praise bestowed on the heathens of this country by many of our historians, is refuted by a close (I might almost say a superficial) inspection of their lives. Many historical works are more like a romance than history. Many gentlemen here are astonished how some historians have prostituted their talents by writing fables.

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"I am now on the brink of eternity; but to this moment I declare that I do not repent of having spent forty-three years here in the service of my divine Master. Who knows but God may remove some of the great obstacles to the propagation of the gospel? Should a reformation take place amongst the Europeans, it would no doubt be the greatest blessing to the country.

"These observations I beg leave to lay before the honourable Society, with my humble thanks for all their benefits bestowed on this work, and sincere wishes that their pious and generous endeavours to disseminate the knowledge of God, and of Jesus Christ, may be beneficial to many thousands.

"I am sincerely,
"Reverend and dear Sir,
"Your affectionate brother and humble servant,
"C. F. SWARTZ."

Various reflections present themselves on the perusal of this admirable letter. The circumstance which occasioned it, and which proved to have been so entirely distorted and misrepresented by Mr. Montgomery Campbell, affords a striking example of the little dependence which can be placed on accounts of missionaries and their proceedings, which are not unfrequently given to the world by those who boast of their personal

and local knowledge; but who are either unfriendly or indifferent to the propagation of Christianity in heathen countries. It is remarkable, also, that a few months only before Mr. Campbell brought forward his charges against the converts on the coast of Coromandel, the important reformation which Swartz details had been effected, by the blessing of God upon his labours, among the very class of people who had been so unjustly stigmatized as Christian thieves. The pagan collaries, it will be remembered,[1] assembled, and threatened to extirpate Christianity out of their country; but were, at length, persuaded, by the exhortations of Swartz and his catechists, and the mild and patient conduct of their converted countrymen, to desist from their opposition, and returned to their habitations in peace.

Nothing can be more convincing and triumphant than the evidence thus adduced in favour of the beneficial influence of Christianity on the temporal interests of heathen nations; while the singular ability, the genuine modesty, and the elevated piety of the venerable missionary, throw additional light on the extraordinary excellence of his character, and the value of his Christian labours. Though it was impossible in such a document to avoid referring chiefly to his own services, it is remarkable, that he assigns a prominent place to

[1] See p. 247.

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those of his friend and coadjutor, Mr. Gericke, in proof of the benefits resulting to the country from the labours of Christian missionaries.

It is but justice to Mr. Campbell to add, that on finding how completely Swartz had replied to his misrepresentations, he wrote and apologized to him; and excused himself by assuring him that his speech had been erroneously reported in the newspapers. It can scarcely be regretted that any statement, however inaccurate, should have been the occasion of calling forth so noble a defence of his mission, and so fine an illustration of his character as the preceding letter affords.

In a letter to a friend, who had suggested the importance of writing something to show that the mission in which he had so long laboured had proved advantageous to India, after referring to the preceding vindication of it, Mr. Swartz adds the following sensible observations, upon a point which he had only slightly touched, the justice of which has at length been publicly recognized, in the eligibility now afforded to native Christians to offices of every kind in India.

"All my letters, together with my remarks, I first submitted to Mr. Gericke, and my brethren here. There is one, of which I have nearly forgotten whether I gave a hint of it to the Society. It is this. It is necessary that the Christians

should be able to obtain situations. Now Europeans despise them. A Brahmin said to me lately, 'You do your business by halves. After you have instructed us, you say—Go and labour. But what labour shall we do? If you could get us situations suited to our abilities, you would see things wear a different aspect. But you take us out of all our own connexions, and are not able to place us in any other.' This is an appeal which bears with too much force on us unfriended missionaries. Yes, we are constrained to admit the fact, that if any one confesses the Christian doctrines, he is not only despised by his own connexions, but by Europeans also. This is a hard trial."

The statement of the excellent missionary was but too well founded; but it is hoped, that with the advancing piety of Europeans in India, and the increased privileges of the native Christians, the prejudice and the hardship of which he so justly complains will gradually cease.

The next two letters to Serfojee will be read with much interest and pleasure.

"My dear Friend,

"Your kind letter I have received. It seems that the eldest lady will hardly become satisfied, though her servants, I believe, are much to be

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blamed, who stir up her mind to make so many unreasonable demands.

"I entreat you very much to read and write and speak English as much as you can. If you are able to converse freely with the gentlemen, and particularly the governor, that will recommend you very much.

"As Colonel Braithwaite has given you a globe, you ought to learn something of geography, as you live in the world which God has created, that you may get some idea of the great God, the creator of heaven and earth. It is ignorance of the works of God that inclines us to value the creature more than God. A good prince is obliged to imitate God. But how can he imitate him if he does not know him, and his goodness, wisdom, power and justice?

"God complains that the heathen have not worshipped worthily, though they might have known him by the works of creation and providence. A great king therefore prayed to God, saying, 'Open thou mine eyes that I may see the wonders of thy works and words.'

"That you may be happy here and hereafter, is the wish of

"Your affectionate Friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ.

"Tanjore, Aug. 6, 1794."

"My dear Friend,

"Just now I received Dattajee's letter, concerning the reception you met with from Lord Hobart. I am very glad that he behaved so kindly towards you, and I hope that from hence you will endeavour to improve in the English language. The English are fond of their language, and like every one who speaks it with tolerable propriety. If Lord Hobart sends you books, he will inquire whether you have read them, and what improvement you have made by the perusal of them.

"But above all, be careful to have the glorious God on your side. His loving-kindness is better than life. Pray to him, fear him, do not dare to do any thing against his will, and he will be with you.

"We are here very well. Mr. Kohlhoff sends his salam. The country is very well cultivated; since August we have had many refreshing showers.

"Tell Dattajee that I shall soon answer his letter. May God bless you!

"I am in sincerity,

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. F. Swartz.

"Tanjore, Oct. 9th, 1794."

The correspondence of Swartz, never very ex-

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tensive or voluminous, was now becoming less frequent and communicative; and his letters, like the visits of those angelic spirits with whom he was ere long to be associated, were "few and far between." The following to Mr. and Mrs. Duffin was written in this year, and proves how vigourously he was still engaged in duty, how watchfully he was trimming his lamp, how sincerely he loved his friends, and how ardently he was aspiring to the happiness of eternity.

"My dear Friends,

"Your kind letters of Dec. 30, 1792, and 10th of April, 1793, I have received, and rejoice that you are so happily situated in the company of Colonel and Mrs. Flint.

"I bless God that in my sixty-eighth year I can go through all my duties with tolerable ease. Some months ago I visited Cuddalore and Negapatam, when I commonly preached thrice every day, viz. in English, Portuguese, and Malabar. My dear friends here are likewise well. Mr. Kohlhoff thinks often of you and the kindness you showed him at Warriore. Your letters I communicated to Colonel and Mrs. Knox. Both are well, with their daughter. The place they do not like; almost two thirds of the people died by a dreadful famine which lasted three years.

"Whether I shall write again is uncertain. Our

time, our life, is in the hands of God. One thing is certain, namely, *that we must die.* But if we die in the Lord, united to Jesus, interested in his atonement, and actuated, at least in some degree, by his Spirit, and having a well-grounded hope of everlasting life, all is well—Death has lost his sting, that is, his power to hurt us. O blessed eternity!

"You know, my dear friends, that I have loved you. I love you still. My love was not founded on a selfish interest. No, I wish to see you in a happy eternity. There we shall praise him who has redeemed us with his blood, and sanctified us with his Spirit.

"Wherever we are, we are tempted by the world—by the fine, polite world above all. 'Love not the world,' its proud, ambitious, covetous and sensual conduct. Love Him who laid down his life for us.

"Remember me to Colonel and Mrs. F. Tell them that I wish to be with them, in the house of my heavenly Father. I am now on the brink of eternity. Oh! when shall I see God, and praise him for ever? When shall I be perfectly wise, holy, and happy—when shall I live for ever?

"To the love of God and Jesus Christ I commend you both, and Colonel and Mrs. F., and am sincerely, to the last breath of my life,

"Dear friends,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

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Early in 1795, Mr. Swartz addressed another instructive letter to his young pupil Serfojee, at Madras.

"My dear Friend,

"At present I have no letter to answer. The season of the new year puts me in mind to wish you true happiness. Hitherto God has preserved us. To this moment we enjoy his mercy. But surely we do not know how long we are to enjoy it. We are planted by God as trees. These trees are to bring forth good fruit, by which God is to be honoured. What sort of fruit we have borne, we are to inquire by searching our hearts. If we do not bear good fruit, we shall at last be cut down. I heartily wish and beseech God to make you a good tree, which bears good fruit to the praise of God, your Maker and Benefactor. Besides the welfare of our souls, which ought to be our first concern, we are obliged to prepare for the wise exercise of every duty to which God calls us.

"You in your station ought to learn all virtues, by the exercise of which you may become beneficial to mankind—justice, benevolence, patience, and resignation to the will of God.

"I wish you may read history, by which you may be instructed in every necessary point. History shows how many princes have exercised justice, benevolence, and diligence, by which they have

made a whole nation happy. But history informs you likewise how many princes have indulged in wickedness, and impiety, and sloth, and cruelty, by which they have even ruined their lives. In short, it is and will always be true, what was said to an Israelitish king, 'Thou hast forsaken God, therefore God will forsake thee.'

"Do not, my dear friend, indulge in sloth and idleness, be diligent in every laudable thing.

"I have rebuked Dattajee for neglecting you. He learns the English language very well, but doth not, as it seems, care for you.

"Dada's son has not acquainted me how far you have advanced in arithmetic. Tell him not to be slothful. His father was a faithful friend to you. As for his son, and your other servants, I am afraid they mind their own interest more than yours.

"My love to you inclineth me to write in this manner. I wish to hear from the Rev. Mr. Gerické, that you improve in all that is good. I am

"Your faithful friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

"Tanjore, Jan. 5th, 1795."

It was probably to the preceding letter, that the following pleasing extract from the journal of Mr. Gerické for the year 1795, refers.

"On the second of June I read to the prince of

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Tanjore a letter addressed to him by Mr. Swartz, for whom he entertains a filial respect. I took some pains to illustrate the various points contained in this excellent letter, by additional observations of my own, first in English, and then in Malabar, in order that the relatives and servants of the prince might also derive some profit. They all united in expressing their admiration of the many useful hints, and of the very wholesome advice contained in the letter. Mr. Swartz affectionately entreated the prince to redeem his time, to fear God, to be truly humble, to qualify himself by a constant improvement of his talents for extensive usefulness, so as to become a real blessing to his people; and he encouraged him to fresh exertions by setting before him the bright examples of eminent men who had devoted their time, their influence, power, and wealth for the attainment of such benevolent purposes."

In the report of this venerable and indefatigable man to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, of the state of the mission during this year, he repeated his former assurances as to the anxiety of himself and his brethren, in affording to the catechumens the fullest instruction in the doctrines of Christianity previously to their baptism—"the missionaries," he observes, "being convinced that pious conduct could not be ex-

pected without competent knowledge. After baptism, instruction is renewed at all convenient opportunities; and whenever the holy sacrament is administered, the communicants attend some days before, that their increase or decrease in knowledge may be known. To persons resident at a considerable distance, a catechist is sent, to instruct them, and to observe their moral conduct."

Sattianaden, he informed the Society, had been sent to Ramanadapuram, where some heathens had expressed a desire to be instructed. In that work he was to be employed for some time, and then to return to his station at Palamcotta. In the course of the year, the smallpox had raged violently at Tanjore, by which fifty members of the congregation had been swept away. Recourse, however, having been had to inoculation, many lives had been saved.

Contemplating, upon the whole, the circumstances of the missionaries, he could not but feel much sorrow. One worthy brother at Tranquebar, Mr. Kœnig, who had during twenty-seven years been in charge of the Portuguese congregation, had died, reducing the number of the Danish missionaries to two. Mr. John had been ill, and Mr. Pohlé was unwell. "We entreat God," he adds, "to send new labourers into his vineyard."

A letter to Mr. and Mrs. Duffin from Mr. Kohlhoff, in the course of this year, thus men-

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tions the state of India at that period, and his venerable friend and father.

"Tanjore, March 30, 1795.

"We are especially bound to praise God, that we have been free from the trouble and miseries of war, under which a great part of Europe is at present labouring. We were indeed under some apprehensions of a war breaking out between us and the Mahrattas, about the beginning of this year; but by the kind providence of God, and the wise measures of our government, it was averted, and we are now enjoying, thank God, perfect peace and tranquillity.

"Our dear and worthy friend Mr. Swartz is in good health, and performs the several duties of his office as before. May a gracious God prolong his life to many, many succeeding years, for the glory of his name, and the good of souls! Our beloved Mr. Jœnické has been at Palamcotta since the beginning of March last, where God is making use of his labours for the enlargement of his kingdom."

The next paragraph in Mr. Kohlhoff's letter announces an event but too frequent in India, which proves the peculiar value of such ministers of consolation as Swartz and himself.

"Before the arrival of these lines you will perhaps see our good friend Mrs. Knox, who has

lately suffered a severe loss by the death of her husband Captain Knox, who died a few months since at Ongole, where he was stationed with his battalion. Mrs. K. embarked about six or eight weeks since on board the Asia, and before her departure she wrote a few lines to Mr. Swartz, from which it appears that her mind was still much afflicted. May a merciful God comfort her under all her sorrows, make her resigned to the good and wise dispensations of his providence, and bring her safe to her children and friends! Should you have the opportunity, pray remember us to her in the kindest manner."

On the same sheet with the preceding extract, Swartz wrote as follows:

"Tanjore, April 10, 1795.

"As my friend Mr. Kohlhoff has given you an account of his present welfare, I will add something concerning my own health. I praise God for his mercy which he has bestowed upon me. Though I am now in the sixty-ninth year of my age, I still am able to perform the ordinary functions of my office. Of sickness I know little or nothing. How long I am to say so, my Creator and Preserver knows. My only comfort is the redemption made by Jesus Christ. He is, and shall be, my wisdom. By him I have received the salutary knowledge which leads me to the

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favour of God. He is my righteousness. By his atonement I have pardon of my sins; being clothed in his righteousness, my sins will not appear in judgment against me—they are blotted out by the atoning blood of Jesus. He is likewise my sanctification. In his holy life I best learn the whole will of God, and by his Spirit I shall daily be encouraged and strengthened to hate every sin, and to walk in the way of the commandments of God. He is, and I hope he will be, my redemption. By him I shall be delivered from all evil, and made eternally happy.

"Let others glory in what they please: I will glory in Christ Jesus, the only and perfect author of all happiness. Should I presume to rely on my own virtue, I should despair. Though I heartily wish to obey God, and follow the example of my Saviour; though I will endeavour by the grace of God to subdue my inclination to sin —yet in all this there is, and ever must be, imperfection; so that I dare not stand upon so rotten a ground. But to win Christ, and to be found in him, in life and death, and even in the day of judgment, was St. Paul's wish; this has been the wish of all genuine Christians; this shall be mine as long as I breathe. This was not a peculiarity in St. Paul's character. No; he admonishes all to follow him in this point. This close adherence to Christ will not make us indo-

lent in the pursuit of holiness. It will rather impel, strengthen, and cheer us in the work of true and Christian holiness. St. Paul wished to be made like unto the death of Jesus, which is the summit of true holiness.

"As this, perhaps, may be my last letter to you, I cannot but entreat you to follow St. Paul, that excellent pattern of true goodness. By doing so, you will easily withstand and overcome the temptations of a vain world; you will live and die in peace; and at last be received into glory.

"We have known one another a long time on earth. May we know one another in a blessed eternity, where sin and sorrow never shall disturb us! Watch and pray, that ye may be accounted worthy to stand before the Son of man, your Redeemer.

"I am, my dear friends,

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

With this truly apostolic letter, in which, after the example of St. Paul himself, he wrote "the same things," but which to him, as to every real Christian, were ever new, and ever supremely interesting and important, Swartz, as he had anticipated, closed his invaluable correspondence with these beloved friends; one of whom still survives, and retains, at a very advanced age, in all their freshness and fervour, the reverence and

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affection which the virtues of this extraordinary man had so justly inspired.

In a letter from Mr. Pæzold, the Society's recently established missionary at Vepery, he recurs to a scene which has been already described, but with so much variety of incident as to justify its insertion in this place.

"In a journey to Tanjore," he observes, "in company with the Rev. Mr. Swartz,[1] I had the opportunity at Tripatore of being present at a conference between that excellent missionary, and about twenty Brahmins, to whom he expounded the Christian doctrine, pointing out its great pre-eminence over their heathenism and idolatry. Their general reply to him was, 'Very true; your doctrine, your religion, your instruction, is a pleasing thing; but it is inconsistent with flesh and blood; it is repugnant to our carnal affections; it strikes at the natural propensity to moral evil, and to worldly pleasures. Moreover,' they replied, 'we do not see your Christian people live conformably to what they teach. The Christians appear to be doing quite the contrary: they curse, they swear, they get drunk; they steal, cheat, and deal fraudulently with one another; nay, they blaspheme, and rail upon matters of religion, and often make a mock of those who profess to be religious:' in short they said, 'You Christians often

[1] See p. 253.

demean yourselves as badly, if not worse, than we heathens. Now pray,' they added, 'of what benefit and advantage is all your instruction and recommendation of Christ's religion, if it does not reform the lives of your own people? Should you not first endeavour to convert your Christians ere you attempt to proselyte pagans?'" To these objections, says Mr. Pæzold, whether applicable to the nominal European Christians, or to the native converts, and however, unhappily, well-founded, though obviously inconclusive, "Mr. Swartz replied with so much propriety, and with such wonderful intrepidity and energy, that at length the Brahmins unanimously exclaimed, 'Of a truth you are a holy man; and if all your Christians thought, and spake, and lived as you do, we would without delay undergo the change, and become Christians also.'"

How honourable is this repeated testimony to his personal excellence; and how powerfully does it appeal to every minister, whether abroad or at home, and to every private Christian, to act consistently with their holy profession, and thus to adorn and recommend the doctrine of God our Saviour!

To the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Mr. Swartz wrote from Tanjore on the 26th of January, 1796, giving an interesting retrospect of the preceding year. He and his brethren, he

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observed, had experienced the mercy of God in preserving their lives, when they seemed to be in danger. Mr. Jœnické had been afflicted with a bilious disorder, the consequence and effect of the hill fever, which never entirely left him for three years, though he had sometimes been tolerably well, so as to go through the duties of his office. Mr. Kohlhoff continued most faithfully to assist him. He had himself entered into the seventieth year of his age, and still found himself able to perform his various duties—preaching every Sunday, catechising every day, and in the afternoon visiting Christian families, and instructing them in the obligations of religion.

During the last year twenty-nine heathens had been instructed and baptized; twenty-four Roman Catholics had been received into the congregation, and thirty-seven children, born of Christian parents.

He continued to encourage poor Christian widows in spinning; and the young girls, after an hour's catechising, were employed in knitting stockings. Old people, who were unequal to hard labour, he intended to engage in the cultivation of cochineal, for which purpose he had planted opuntia in great abundance, and they were then just about to begin that useful work.

"Unable," he says, "to walk very far, I visit the Christians in two streets near the church.

Having catechised them, I accustom myself to explain the principal doctrines of Christianity. This done, I question them respecting their employments, and inspect their work, and at the close of the day we have evening prayer. The catechists visit and instruct Christians resident at a distance, and converse with the heathens in the adjacent towns and villages, and on their return they read their diaries."

There were twelve catechists maintained at Tanjore, Ramanadapuram, and Palamcotta, to whom monthly salaries were paid, amounting in the whole to £60 per annum. Sattianaden received a salary from the Society; the catechists were paid by Swartz. The orphan school, in which fifteen native boys were instructed, fed, and clothed, required about £40 per annum to support it.

"As the honourable Company," observes this generous man, "has hitherto allowed me something, I look upon it as a donation to the mission. My colleague Mr. Jœnické has a share in it. Besides, when he travels into the country, I pay the expenses—I think myself bound to do so. If the honourable Society could assist us to defray those extraordinary expenses, we should rejoice, and be very thankful for such a bounty." Two English schools had been established at Ramanadapuram, and one at Palamcotta, by young

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men who had been instructed at Tanjore; and these schools were supplied with books from the mission stores. Sattianaden, he adds, had sent his diary to Mr. Jœnické, who, as soon as his health would permit, intended to transmit an extract from it to the Society. He concluded by expressing his humble and respectful thanks for the continuance of their kindness to them and to the mission.

The Society, with prompt liberality, having taken into consideration the preceding statement of the extraordinary expense incurred in the service of the Tanjore mission, in the year 1795, transmitted to Swartz £60, with a request that he would furnish an estimate of the whole amount, and of the balance remaining unprovided for, on account of which this allowance was made.

To a friend in London the excellent missionary wrote, at the commencement of this year, "It is a sincere pleasure to me to hear, that my letter, together with my remarks on the mission, have been read to the honourable Society, and received their approbation. My earnest wish is, that the remarks may prove conducive to the good of the mission." He then adds the following important and interesting observations.[1]

"A missionary must guard against being cast down and dissatisfied; for this, especially here, is

[1] Memoirs of Jœnické.

as poison to the body, and highly pernicious to the soul; because thereby faith, love, and hope decrease, nay, absolutely perish: and when the people remark that such an one is discontented, it is an impediment in the way of his labouring on their souls; from which nevertheless our comfort ought to arise. Whenever I meet with any thing disagreeable, *I go and catechise for an hour.* This employment sweetens every bitter to me. No missionary must give way to complaining. *We must be witnesses for our Lord, and not converters merely.* One could wish indeed that, as three thousand souls were converted by Peter's sermon, a visible, abundant blessing might rest on our labours. Meanwhile, sowing has its season, and reaping has its season: and moreover it might still be a question whether with such great success, we should hold fast humility of heart. The best way is to labour diligently, and then to pray that God would bless our labour.

"The Tanjore inhabitants are much given to heathenism; and yet many assert, (I know not how it comes into their minds,) that the whole land will still embrace Christianity. God grant it!"

CHAPTER XX.

Revival of the discussion respecting the validity of Serfojee's adoption, and his title to the musnud—Proceedings at the two presidencies of Madras and Bengal—Important services of Mr. Swartz upon this occasion—High testimony to his character by Sir John Shore—Complete establishment of Serfojee's claims—Sir A. Johnstone—Letter to Professor Schultz—Appointment of two new missionaries—Declining health of Mr. Swartz—His devout and interesting reflections on this subject.

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WHILE the venerable missionary was thus occupied in the discharge of the sacred and appropriate duties of his office, it is remarkable that no allusion is to be found in any of his private letters to a subject which must at this time have engaged much of his attention, and in which he was again called to take a prominent and important part.

It will be remembered, that when the widows and the adopted son of the late rajah of Tanjore were, in the year 1793, at their earnest request, removed to Madras, it was stated that one of their chief

objects was to bring before the notice of government, the claims of Serfojee to the succession to the musnud, founded upon a variety of circumstances which had transpired since the decision of Sir Archibald Campbell in favour of Ameer Sing. Soon after their arrival, Mr. Swartz addressed a letter to the Marquess Cornwallis, to part of which reference has been already made, in which he gave a brief sketch of the history of Serfojee from the period of his adoption to that of his removal to Madras. After mentioning the visit of Sir Archibald Campbell to Tanjore, and his convening of twelve pundits, who declared the adoption of Serfojee to be invalid, he thus proceeds.

"As I knew nothing of their Shasters,[1] and the whole business was done so quickly, I was silent, for which I blame myself; for these pundits ought to have given a proof from the Shaster to vindicate the justice of their opinion—but nothing of this was done. When I afterwards read the translation of the Hindoo laws, which was published in Bengal, I was astonished, when I found that those pundits had acted a base part.

"Your lordship wished to have authentic proofs

[1] Though Mr. Swartz was a master of the principal languages spoken in the south of India, and well versed in Tamul literature, he had not found it necessary to study the Sanscrit, which accounts for his want of acquaintance with the Shasters.

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of their having been bribed. Five of them who formerly had no office are taken into the rajah's service. Others have fields which they would immediately lose if they confessed. One of them is here, who declared that hope and fear had influenced him; that he was conscious of having done wrong; but he said, 'As the present rajah, before he was proclaimed, was already in the possession of the country and treasure, every one had hopes and fears. You had no reason to expect a just decision from us under these circumstances. His money has made him king; but if you desire us to confess publicly, you must protect us publicly.' This is in some degree confirmed by a declaration, which the present rajah made in the presence of Mr. De Souza, a Portuguese gentleman, Sir Archibald Campbell's dubash, Shevarow, and myself, at the time when Mr. Petrie was sent to Tanjore to oblige the rajah to pay the arrears. The rajah then said, 'If they press me too much, I will reveal all, and raise a storm over all England. For they have all got money from me except Mr. Swartz.' Whether those who were then present would choose to confirm this declaration, I know not; but I could confirm it in the most solemn and awful manner.

"The present rajah has made three objections to Serfojee's adoption, which some pundits, at

the desire of the late rajah's family, have answered. I beg leave to send those answers taken from the Shaster.

"As the present rajah has requested that no *stranger* might be admitted to his palace and government—that your lordship may be convinced that Serfojee is no stranger, but has a right to the government of the country, not only on account of his having been adopted, but even on account of his birth, I beg leave to send your lordship his pedigree.

"Whether these my reflections, which I have made with a conscientious regard to truth, will throw some light upon the whole matter, I leave to your lordship's better judgment.

"Having been too silent, when the twelve pundits gave their opinion, I have written this letter to ease my mind, and if possible to benefit my unfortunate pupil. A line from your lordship on this subject shall be my comfort. In your lordship's determination I shall cheerfully acquiesce."

The letter from which the preceding extracts are given, was accompanied by one from the widows of Tuljajee to Lord Cornwallis, translated by Mr. Swartz, in which they detail all the particulars respecting the adoption of Serfojee, and declare it to have been conducted according to the

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strictest requisitions of Hindoo law and custom. They next refer to the two objections chiefly urged against its validity, namely, his age, and his being an only son. They then assert their conviction, that the pundits were under the influence of corrupt motives in giving their opinions in favour of Ameer Sing; and they with great fairness propose to prove this, first, by a reference to those pundits who had been consulted by Tuljajee on his adoption of a son, and who were entirely overlooked at the time of Sir Archibald Campbell's inquiry, and next, by calling upon the twelve pundits who had repudiated the adoption, to state the passages from the Shasters which justified their decision; and thus, it would appear, whether they had been influenced by sinister motives, or by a real knowledge of the Hindoo laws.

They finally entreated Lord Cornwallis not to quit India without settling Serfojee's concerns, as it would be easy for Ameer Sing, though then without any heir, to adopt an infant, and thus to place an additional impediment in the way of his claims to the throne.

The question respecting the validity of Serfojee's adoption, having been thus formally revived, doubtless occupied the immediate attention of government; but the time necessarily required for the transmission and examination of

the various documents upon which the determination of it depended, not only to Bengal, but also to the Court of Directors, occasioned considerable delay.

During this interval, the mal-administration of affairs in Tanjore continued, and even increased. Conflicting representations were made by the rajah and the resident to the Madras government, the former complaining particularly of the endeavours which were making to invalidate his title to the throne, and urging in the strongest manner the objections which had originally prevailed to set aside the claims of Serfojee. These appear to have been forwarded to Calcutta, where Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, had succeeded the Marquess Cornwallis as governor-general of India, and to have been taken into the deliberate consideration of the president in council. In a minute, transmitted by that excellent and distinguished person, to the Court of Directors, the following passage occurs; which is so honourable at once to the discriminating judgment of the governor-general, and to the character of Mr. Swartz, that it is gratifying to have the opportunity of inserting it in these Memoirs.

"Admitting that the authors of the rajah of Tanjore's correspondence are interested on the one side, and the resident and Mr. Swartz are committed on the other, it may be a matter for

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consideration to which of the parties credit ought to be given. The president has no hesitation in declaring, that upon every material point he totally disbelieves every circumstance that has been urged in the rajah's letters, which goes to a contradiction of the representations of the resident.

"With regard to Mr. Swartz, whose name the president has never heard mentioned without respect, and who is as distinguished for the sanctity of his manners, as for his ardent zeal in the promulgation of his religion; whose years, without impairing his understanding, have added weight to his character; and whose situation has enabled him to be the protector of the oppressed, and the comforter of the afflicted; who, a preacher of the Christian faith, and a man without influence, except from character, was held in such estimation by the late rajah, a Hindoo prince, approaching to his dissolution, that he thought him the fittest person he could consult concerning the management of his country, during the minority of his adopted son Serfojee; and who, displaying more integrity than foresight, in the advice he gave, did certainly not prove himself the enemy of Ameer Sing, since, at his suggestion, he was named Regent—to the solemn assurance of such a man, the president is compelled to declare his unqualified assent; and, upon his information, he can

easily reconcile the difference between the personal declarations and the letters of the rajah."

Though it is by no means intended to enter minutely into the political affairs of Tanjore at this period, and the venerable subject of these memoirs ever anxiously avoided, as far as his sense of duty would permit, any interference of this nature, it is absolutely necessary to the elucidation of his conduct upon the present occasion, to refer to various circumstances respecting which he was required to give his deliberate opinion and advice. Living as he had done, during so many years, in habits of friendly and confidential intercourse with the principal persons at the court of Tanjore, as well as with others of all ranks, he necessarily acquired a clearer insight into the secret springs and motives of action of those around him, than could be obtained by any other individual. The consequence of this extensive information, combined with his perfect integrity and independence, was, that, by degrees, he was compelled to take a part, directly or indirectly, in almost every public transaction connected with Tanjore. "The good," as it has been happily expressed by a subsequent distinguished resident at that court,[1] "naturally desired his advice and

[1] Colonel Blackburne.

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assistance, the bad, were anxious to obtain the sanction of his respectable name."

Thus, at the close of the year 1795, we find him writing to Mr. Macleod, for the information of Lord Hobart, then governor of Madras, in the following terms:—

"You know the unhappy cause of the rajah's attachment to Shevarow and his whole family. It is not any regard he has for them: no—he is actuated only by fear. He is conscious of having no legal claim to the crown; and that insidious family know it likewise; and they have been so imprudent as to declare, that as he owed his elevation to their assistance, so they had it in their power to bring him down whenever they pleased. It is fear of losing his glory, or splendid misery, makes him bear any insult to preserve himself in the possession of his throne. He has delivered the management of the whole country to that family, not daring to controul them. Accordingly they took the accounts out of the palace, and the treasures likewise."

Representations of this nature, together with a growing impression at Tanjore, that Sir Archibald Campbell had been deceived by the pundits, as to the grounds of his decision in placing Ameer Sing upon the throne, combined with the formal

impeachment of his title, by the widows and adopted son of the late rajah, at length brought the whole of this important subject to a crisis. The government deemed it necessary to proceed with great circumspection and delicacy in questioning a right which had been sanctioned by so solemn a decision; and it is due to the memory of Sir Archibald Campbell, to declare their conviction, that it "was formed from the best and most upright intentions; and that, if he erred, it was an error arising from misinformation; but that the motives which actuated that decision on his part were pure and disinterested."

It is due also to the East Indian government, to state the high and honourable principles by which they were influenced in the revision of this important question. In the minute already referred to, adverting to the right of the Company to interfere originally with respect to the succession to Tanjore, it is observed, "that the same right called upon them, under existing circumstances, to review the whole subject; and that if it should appear, that the decision of government had been procured by imposition and intrigue, by which the legal heir had been deprived of his right, a declaration to that effect, followed by his substitution, would be more honourable to British justice, and more calculated to promote our political character and interests, than to suffer the

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continuance of an usurpation obtained at our hands by sinister and undue means. It would manifest to the world that the principle of British justice is ever true to itself; and that if those entrusted with its administration should be betrayed into error, (an event not impossible, even from the integrity of their own minds,) when truth shall have made its way, the hour of retribution must come, and the honour of the British name be completely vindicated.

"Such a declaration would be in strict conformity with the principles avowed at the time of Ameer Sing's succession; it would be a proof not only of our justice, but of our liberality, and, by converting a temporary success into a perpetual disgrace, would afford an awful lesson to those who may be disposed to tamper with the integrity of our countrymen."

The supreme government having, upon these just and elevated principles, resolved on fully investigating the subject of the succession to Tanjore, in addition to the representations and documents which had already been laid before them by Mr. Swartz and the widows, called upon Mr. Macleod, the late resident, to state all that he knew or believed relative to the right of Ameer Sing to the musnud. In reply to this requisition, he transmitted a clear and minute detail of all the

circumstances connected with it. From this important document,[1] it appears that, soon after the decision in favour of Ameer Sing, opinions and surmises beginning to be very prevalent at Tanjore, as to the legality of his title, the resident was induced to make various inquiries upon the subject. He found, from answers to questions sent privately to natives well versed in the Hindoo laws, that the supposed defects in the adoption of Serfojee were of no validity, and incapable of being substantiated by authorities from the Shasters; while, on the other hand, many quotations, purporting to be from those sacred books, were produced, which clearly evinced the legality of all the forms of the adoption.

These passages were furnished by some of the pundits consulted by the late rajah respecting that ceremony, as well as by other learned men; and though the resident could not himself verify their genuineness, the presumption was strongly in their favour, from the danger of detection, should he at any time bring them publicly forward. Upon these grounds, he felt convinced in his own mind of the validity of the adoption; and this conviction was strengthened by the circumstance, already noticed, of the various rewards bestowed by Ameer Sing upon the pundits, who had given their opinions in support of

[1] Madras Inclosures, vol. xxii. p. 715.

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his title. He further remarked, that these opinions were unaccompanied by any authorities from the Shasters; that some of those pundits were incompetent to assert any thing of their own knowledge upon the subject; and that one of them had actually confessed, and persisted to the hour of his death in acknowledging, that his answers had been given under undue influence.

All this was corroborated by the treatment of Serfojee, while confined in the palace, which has been before detailed, and which the resident had felt himself bound to represent to government, in order, as he emphatically expressed it, "to save the boy." Of the severity of this treatment, he mentioned one remarkable proof, in addition to what has been previously stated. About three months after the death of Tuljajee, he and Mr. Swartz were sitting with the rajah, waiting for Serfojee, who had been desired to attend them. When he made his appearance, "the child," says Mr. Macleod, "was so dreadfully altered, that though we saw him in his approach down the length of an open colonnade, we did not know him, till he came within three or four yards of us: he had become emaciated and dejected to the greatest degree. He was reduced to this deplorable state, by a series of acts which sufficiently evinced that the intention of those who directed them was to remove the boy, whose right they

considered the only obstacle to the rajah's quiet possession of the throne. It was at this crisis," he adds, "that government interposed."

Such is the outline of the case respecting the conflicting claims of Serfojee and Ameer Sing to the musnud of Tanjore. To the English government the decision of this question was a matter of comparative indifference, inasmuch as the determination of it in favour of either party, could not materially affect its interests or influence in the country. It was, therefore, with perfect integrity and impartiality that this important investigation was undertaken; and the result of it will be found to have been regulated by the clearest and most convincing evidence.

The whole subject is discussed in a long and elaborate despatch from Sir John Shore, the governor-general in council, dated December 30th, 1796, to Lord Hobart, governor of Madras. It commences with a review of the events which have been already so frequently adverted to—the adoption of Serfojee, and the death of the late rajah in 1787—the suspicions generally entertained as to the legitimacy of Ameer Sing—the determination of Sir Archibald Campbell in his favour, to the exclusion of the adopted son—the gradual revival of his claim by the widows of Tuljajee, aided by the powerful interposition of Mr. Swartz, as the guardian of Serfojee, and the

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remonstrance of Ameer Sing, in 1793, against this impeachment of his title.

The minute of the board proceeds to state, that the sentiments of Mr. Swartz, in addition to other circumstances, had, at that time, created great doubts in their minds of the just rights of the rajah to the succession; and that they had, in consequence, resolved to call on the most learned pundits in Bengal and Benares, for answers to the substance of the questions put to the pundits at Tanjore, desiring the Madras government, in the mean time, to ascertain whether the opinion of any of those pundits had been obtained by corrupt means; that these questions were translated by the late Sir William Jones, into Sanscrit, and transmitted to the pundits of Bengal and Benares, whose answers had been duly received, and translated for the use of the board; that after perusing them, the board, being desirous of having the fullest information before them upon every point, sent instructions to the Madras government, to ascertain the correctness of the lineage of Serfojee, and the fact of the illegitimacy of Ameer Sing, as asserted by the widows of the late rajah, and Mr. Swartz, and called upon them to substantiate their previous statement, as to the opinions of the pundits originally consulted by Tuljajee, concerning the adoption, by authorities from the Shaster, and by the customs of the coun-

try, particularly as to the age of Serfojee at the time of his adoption being no bar to its validity; that satisfactory replies upon all these points were received by the supreme government, and constituted the evidence upon which the board were to form their opinion.

The objections urged by Ameer Sing to the adoption of Serfojee are then stated. They will be found to be identical with those originally brought forward, and were reduced to the three following. The first refers to the alleged incapacity of Tuljajee, from infirmity of mind and body, for the due performance of so important an act; the second, to the supposition that Serfojee was an only child; and the third, to the age at which he was adopted, as exceeding that which was prescribed by the Hindoo law.

In reply to the first objection, the governor-general in council considered it amply refuted by three documents. First, the late rajah's letters to the Madras government, announcing the adoption, which have been already quoted. Secondly, Mr. Hudleston's report of the whole transaction, in which it is expressly stated, that, notwithstanding the rapid decline of his health, the rajah preserved his judgment and faculties in so surprising a degree, that he continued, up to the very day of the adoption, to direct and superintend the details of his government, and had even arrested his

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prime minister, on account of his oppression of the people. Mr. Hudleston's notice of the silence of Ameer Sing at the ceremony of the adoption, the avowed object of which was to exclude him from the succession, the board thought equally satisfactory evidence of the sanity of the rajah. The objection in question was, in fact, never heard of till after his death. Thirdly, the report of Sir Archibald Campbell to the secret committee of the Court of Directors, which entirely negatived any such supposition.

The result, therefore, as to this first objection, was, that it was unsupported by any evidence whatever, and that there was the strongest presumption on the other side to suppose it totally unfounded.

With respect to the second objection, the board declared, that the pundits of Bengal and Benares coincided in opinion with those who had been consulted by Tuljajee, at Tanjore, that the adoption of an only son is one of those acts which is tolerated by usage, although it incurs blame; but that the deviation from the strict ordinances of the Shaster by no means invalidates the act itself. The governor-general in council, therefore, concluded that this objection did not affect the right of Serfojee to the succession.

Upon the third objection, as to the age of the child adopted, all the pundits agreed, that if he

were clearly of the family and lineage of the adopter, it was lawful to select a child at any period within the twenty-second year, unless controlled by any local usage, which, in the present case, was contradicted by the Tanjore pundits.

The minute of the supreme government next adverted to the grounds on which the decision in favour of Ameer Sing was originally formed, and stated that when the subject of the succession was under consideration at Tanjore, the questions referred to the pundits were neither sufficiently definite nor pointed, and that the answers to them were general, and unsupported by any references to due authorities. It further observed, that these answers were discredited, less, perhaps, by the general terms in which they were given, than by the suspicions which attached to the integrity of the parties by whom they were delivered, as appeared from the document transmitted to the board by Mr. Swartz, which is then detailed at length, and the substance of which has appeared in a preceding part of this narrative.

"To the evidence of Mr. Swartz," it is observed, "no objection can be made; and the admission of it proves that the pundits, whose opinions were taken with regard to the succession, were either ignorant or corrupt, and that their judgment is consequently entitled to no weight."

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The conclusion of the supreme board, from all the preceding evidence, was, that the grounds upon which Serfojee's adoption was set aside by Sir Archibald Campbell were insufficient; and that it was now clearly relieved from those objections which precluded his acquisition of that right to which he had been appointed by his adoptive father, and to which, in the opinion of the board, he was in future entitled.

On receiving the foregoing able and comprehensive minute from the governor-general of Bengal, Lord Hobart expressed in council at Madras his entire concurrence in the principles and reasonings which it contained, and in the conclusion which it adopted in favour of Serfojee. Adverting to the supposed title of Ameer Sing, his lordship remarked that, had the question turned upon his legitimacy or illegitimacy, sufficient evidence had been adduced of the latter to exclude him from the succession; but that, as the laws of adoption equally precluded his pretensions, in either case, his being illegitimate could only be considered as an aggravation of the injustice which Serfojee had suffered.

Under this impression, and a conviction of the distress in which the inhabitants of the Tanjore country must be involved until its government should be settled upon a permanent footing, the president proposed that the board should concur

in opinion with the governor-general in council, and that their opinion, with the papers which had been under their consideration, should be transmitted to the Court of Directors, by the earliest opportunity.

The whole of this interesting question having turned principally on the evidence adduced by Mr. Swartz, it will be recollected that, in his letter to Lord Cornwallis, he professed his willingness to confirm some important parts of it in the most solemn manner. The following extract from a despatch of Lord Hobart to the resident, thus recognizes this offer.

"The various documents you have submitted, are, to my mind, perfectly conclusive in favour of Serfojee, because they are authenticated by the respectable signature of Mr. Swartz; but as a future discussion may arise, when the course of nature may put it out of our power to resort to that gentleman, it is of infinite importance that we should avail ourselves of the proposition he has himself made, in his letter of the 8th of April, 1793, to Lord Cornwallis."

Lord Hobart then desired the resident to call on Mr. Swartz to verify his statements in the solemn manner he had suggested; and an oath was accordingly administered to him to that effect, which, together with the other documents, was transmitted to the Court of Directors.

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It may, perhaps, be thought that too much prominence has been given to the preceding subject, and that it has been pursued too far in detail; but though to some readers it may appear uninteresting, it must be remembered, that it deeply involved the reputation of the British government with respect to a native prince, dependent in a great measure upon its protection for the establishment of his rights; and that, having been so solemnly committed to the guardianship of the excellent missionary, it became a sacred duty in him to exert himself to the utmost on his behalf. Perplexed and intricate as this question undoubtedly was, and involving such contrariety of opinions and interests, both native and European, it is most gratifying to observe, how completely his interference was justified by the result of the investigation, and how striking and honourable were the testimonies borne, by all the parties concerned, to the purity and uprightness of his conduct throughout the whole transaction. To Swartz himself it must have been a source of heartfelt satisfaction, that he had lived to conduct the case of Serfojee so nearly to its successful issue. It awaited only the final decision of the Court of Directors, which was confidently anticipated, but which did not arrive till the venerable friend of the young prince had ceased to take any

interest in the affairs, however important, of this earthly scene.

In returning to the general narrative of the year 1796, it may be observed, that about this period Mr. Swartz was requested to give some instruction in the principles of the Christian religion to the son of a gentleman then resident in the neighbourhood of Tanjore, who afterwards filled a distinguished station in the public service of India,[1] and who still evinces a lively interest in all that relates to the welfare of our Oriental empire. "I well remember," says that learned and eminent person, "his peculiarly venerable and impressive appearance, the tall and erect figure, the head white with years, the features on which I loved to look, the mingled dignity and amenity of his demeanour. To his pupils he was more like a parent than a preceptor."[2] The testimony to the revered missionary is, we perceive, the same from every quarter, and the impression of his mild and attractive virtues, even on the youngest mind, deep and indelible.

In a letter to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, dated Tanjore, June 28th, 1796, Mr. Swartz gratefully mentions "God's preserva-

[1] The Right Honourable Sir Alexander Johnston, late Chief Justice of Ceylon.

[2] Lives of Eminent Missionaries, p. 169.

tion of his life and health to the extent of nearly seventy years, and his ability still to go through his work in church and school, even without being much fatigued." Mr. Kohlhoff, he said, continued faithfully to assist him in the several duties of the mission. Mr. Jœnické had been to Ramanadapuram, not merely to inspect the congregation, but also to superintend the rebuilding of a new church at that place, the old one having fallen down. He had suffered much from the hill fever, but then found himself better. He observes that they stood in need of a much greater number of books than they usually received, particularly for the schools, and then affectingly adds, "As I grow old and weak, and the work is great and extensive, I heartily wish that a new labourer could be sent out to assist us."

To his friend Dr. Schultz he thus mentions about this time the happy death of a young native convert. She "was a person," he says, "of a quiet disposition, and who feared God. She and her husband lived together in harmony; and if he, at any time, spoke harshly to her, she was silent; *which is not often the case with wives here.*

"During her illness she prayed fervently, and exhorted her husband to do the same, and was much pleased when we visited and encouraged her to a believing trust in Christ. Her aged parents mourned over her early death, but we

comforted in thinking that she departed in humble confidence in the death of Christ.

"I will add," he continues, "an instance of a sorrowful kind. A woman placed herself and her two daughters under me for instruction; the latter also attended the school. When the elder daughter was grown up, she wished to be united to a Christian, and her mother consented. But soon afterwards, one of their heathen relatives desired to marry her; and the mother preferring the match, both she and her daughter became indifferent to Christianity, and apostatized. The wedding was celebrated in the heathen manner. The daughter in her first confinement was in danger. Perceiving her end draw near, she sent for an aged Christian female, and said in the presence of her apostate mother, 'Pray to God for me that he may forgive my falling away. I was instructed in the Christian doctrines; the Padre treated me as his child. I have felt too the power of the divine word at preaching, and have twice received the holy supper:—it was my mother that seduced me away. And now I die in heathenism through my mother's fault.'"

In a subsequent letter to the same excellent friend, Mr. Swartz says, "I have just risen from an examination of the school-children, after having previously finished catechising. Such examinations we have once a month; and it is in many

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respects an advantage to have them frequently; but particularly because the school-master is thus encouraged to fulfil his duty faithfully. We examine their reading, writing, and arithmetic; and hear them repeat by heart the principal texts and a hymn." In another letter he mentions that they were also taught to sing sacred melodies.

Referring again to his valuable plan of preparing catechists and school-masters, he says, "I have selected from the school ten lively boys, whom I daily instruct in the doctrines of Christianity, and church-history, as well as in the method of explaining the principal passages of scripture. I allow them each a small sum monthly, to prevent the necessity of their applying to other labour for support. Not that we expect that every one of them will be fit to be employed in church offices; but they are thus previously instructed, and their abilities as well as conduct are in the way of being proved. Those of whom we entertain hopes of usefulness we send with the catechists into the country, in order to afford them some assistance." This, as he mentions in another letter, was to read to the people, when the catechists became fatigued with speaking to them. "May God endue them," adds this pious and venerable man, "with his Spirit, sanctify their hearts, and make them useful to the benefit of the congregation, and the glory of his name!"

Towards the close of this year, the Society succeeded in obtaining, through Professor Schultz, of Halle, two candidates for the mission in India, one of whom was destined to the Calcutta station, and the other to the coast of Coromandel. The earnest wishes so repeatedly expressed by Swartz for fresh labourers, were thus, it was hoped, likely to be realized; and in the spring of the following year, after a very able and eloquent charge by the late Archdeacon Owen, who had himself served with distinction as one of the chaplains to the presidency of Calcutta, in which, in common with his predecessors in this solemn duty, he spoke of Swartz, as of one whose "praise in the gospel is indeed great," Messrs. Ringeltaube and Holtzberg embarked for India. Of these missionaries, however, one soon quitted the service of the Society, and the other, whose arrival cheered for a time the declining days of his venerable superior, had unhappily imbibed the Neologian views, which already pervaded the German Universities, and, though spared for several years, diminished instead of augmenting the strength and efficiency of the mission.

The affection of Swartz for his admirable friend and fellow-labourer, Gericke, has already appeared. In his journal for this year, he thus touchingly refers to a domestic affliction of this excellent man,

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and repeats the testimony which he had previously borne to his character.

"The Lord preserve our dear brother Gericke! His daughter's early death affected him deeply. His humility, contentment, and disinterested conduct, are observed and appreciated, both by heathens and Christians.—I cannot sufficiently praise God for granting me in Mr. Kohlhoff such a humble, unwearied, and attentive fellow-labourer. He works from morning to night, and is always content."

On his seventieth birth-day, Swartz addressed to his friend Professor Schultz, the following devout and interesting effusion.

"Tanjore, Oct. 8, 1796.

"Ebenezer! hitherto the Lord has helped me. To-day I entered upon my seventy-first year. O the riches of his grace, compassion, and forbearance, which I have experienced during seventy years! Praise, honour, and adoration, are due to a gracious God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the numerous proofs of his abounding grace. Who am I, poor wretched sinner, that thou hast led me till now? O my God, forsake me not in my old age, but let me record, for the encouragement of others, the mercy which has spared, pardoned, and comforted me; and may they be induced to put their trust in thee!

"I am still able to go through the labour of instructing both young and old, without being over fatigued. This duty is so great a refreshment to me, that I heartily praise God for continued health and strength to declare to heathens and Christians his name, who has sent Christ as a Saviour, and made him 'our wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption.' Let worldlings boast as much as they please; my boast is in the Lord, from whom alone cometh my salvation."

The following extract from another letter intimates his knowledge of the painful departure of some of the German churches from the fundamental doctrines of the gospel; and while adverting to his continued, but necessarily decreasing labours, announces his watchful preparation for a higher world.

"Our circumstances are rather depressing, but the Lord is never at a loss for means. He can send forth labourers into his vineyard. Alas! the faithful labourers are few.

"The present condition of the churches in Germany is truly deplorable. They have invented a gospel to which St. Paul and the other apostles were entire strangers. Many reject the doctrine of the atonement, and of the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit.

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"I have now attained my seventieth year. Hitherto the Lord has preserved and protected me. I cannot any longer undertake distant excursions to the heathen; but am still able to perform my ordinary functions, both in church and school. I also pay occasional visits to such Christians as are dispersed in the vicinity, for which I humbly praise God. I have till now personally instructed all those who wished to be baptized, or to receive the holy supper.

"How much longer God may permit me to occupy my station, is known to him alone. 'My times are in his hands.' He has heard my unworthy prayer, that I might not become quite useless in old age. I consider it one of my highest privileges that I can still daily proclaim his name, both among Christians and heathens. A few months ago, I seemed standing on the borders of eternity, being suddenly seized with a painful oppression on my chest. I consider it as a summons from my Lord, to hold myself in readiness, at whatsoever hour he may come."

CHAPTER XXI.

Closing period of Mr. Swartz's life—Letters to Mrs. Chambers, and to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—His preference of Celibacy for a Missionary—Reflections on his opinion—Testimony of Mr. John of Tranquebar to Mr. Gericke and Swartz—Letters to Dr. Schultz—Last Report of Mr. Swartz to the Society—Mr. Gericke communicates the intelligence of his dangerous Illness—Details of his last days, and of his death, by the Tranquebar Missionaries, and by Messrs. Gericke, Jœnicke, Holtzberg, and Kohlhoff.

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In entering upon the closing period of Mr. Swartz's life, the following letter to Mrs. Chambers, written at the commencement of the year 1797, will show his true Christian affection for the widow and children of his beloved friend, and the strength and elevation of his piety.

"Tanjore, Jan. 20, 1797.

"DEAR MADAM,

"I have received your kind letter along with the little books for the benefit of the children.[1]

[1] Doubtless those of his schools.

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They have been highly pleased with them, and have frequently perused them.

"The account you have been pleased to give me of your and my deceased friend's children, is, as you may readily conceive, rejoicing my heart. Your children are your treasure, which, if they are well educated, you will find in heaven; whereas all other things will leave you. The modern way of educating children is far from being hopeful. To make them useful members of society is good; but to make them genuine disciples of Jesus is infinitely better.

"You mention the present corruption of the clergy. At the same time you pleasingly add, that, in the midst of hirelings, God has several true servants. This I believe with all my heart; and in spite of ridicule they are the pillars which support the state more than all political machines.

"I rejoice particularly at your delight in abstaining from the fashionable ways of the world. How is it possible to preserve faith, love, and hope, in the dissipations which are in vogue? Our days are soon gone. Eternity is at hand. What will a poor worldling at last feel when, leaving the world, he finds himself destitute of a lively hope of a blessed eternity?

"But how comfortable is the end of a genuine disciple of Jesus! Adorned with his righteous-

ness, justified and absolved from sin, having the joyful testimony of the Spirit of God, he quits the world with divine comfort.

"How animating the words of our blessed Saviour, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest!' None but the Redeemer is able to give us that desirable blessing. Having obtained mercy, pardon, and peace with God, well may we take his yoke upon us. His commandments are then not grievous; his discipline, and even sufferings, are salutary, promoting our internal peace of mind.

"May you, dear madam, and your dear children walk in the light of his countenance! May God always grant you righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost!

"Remember me to Mr. Grant, and assure him that I frequently remember him. In his present situation he may do much good, but will likewise meet with many temptations. May he be strong in the Lord!

"I remain sincerely,

"Dear madam,

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

"The kind present which you left for me in the hands of my dear brother, Mr. Gerické, I have received, and thank you heartily for it."

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The day following, Mr. Swartz informed the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, that through the divine mercy Mr. Kohlhoff and himself had been preserved in the enjoyment of health and strength, for which he humbly praised God. He particularly mentioned Mr. Jœnické as indefatigable in his missionary labours. He reported that in the Tamul school, in which fifty boys and ten girls were educated, two of the senior boys were instructed, not only in the doctrine, but also in the evidences of Christianity, in order to their being hereafter employed as schoolmasters and catechists. The provincial schools at Tanjore and Cumbagonam were continued as before. As a proof of their caution in the admission of the native Christians to divine ordinances, "When the holy sacrament," he observed, "is administered, we admit no more than thirty or forty at one time, that we may be able to ascertain the knowledge of the communicants; but that all may have an opportunity to receive, it is administered four or five Sundays successively."

In conclusion, he assures the Society, that their work of love in that country was not altogether fruitless; and that many would bless God through all eternity, for the kindness which they had bestowed upon them.

In another letter to the Society, dated Feb. 22, he expresses his most humble thanks, not only

for their usual stores and presents, but for their additional allowance of £50. He also mentioned the excellent Sattianaden as diligent in the discharge of his duties at Palamcottah, and as worthy of the gratuity intended for him by the Society.

Adverting, in the preceding letter, to the information which he had received of the arrival of new missionaries in India, and of the probability that one of them would be accompanied by his wife, he thus briefly but pointedly expressed his sentiments upon this difficult subject.

"I confess, dear sir, I was grieved at it. I assure you that I honour the state of matrimony as a divinely-instituted state; but if a new missionary comes out, he ought to be unembarrassed. His first work, besides his attention to his personal religion, is the learning of some languages, which requires great attention, and unwearied application. I will not say that a married man is unable to learn languages; but this I know from experience in others, that the work goes on slowly. Besides, a new missionary who comes out in the married state, wants many things to maintain his family decently, which may distract him. If one should enter into that state after he had become qualified for his office, the difficulty would be less; but even then, he ought to be well assured of the real piety of his wife; other-

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wise, she will be a sore impediment to him in the discharge of his duty."

It can scarcely be necessary to state that Mr. Swartz himself never married. His solemn and entire dedication of himself to the work of a missionary had probably induced him at a very early period to resolve on a life of celibacy, upon the elevated principle suggested by the great apostle to the Gentiles,[1] that he might be unincumbered by domestic cares, and free to devote his undivided thoughts and energies to the service of Christ. It is not surprising, therefore, that the choice which he had thus made for himself, he should deliberately approve for others engaged in similar undertakings. In point of fact, he was decidedly unfriendly to the marriage of missionaries, at least during the first years of their ministry.

The opinion thus expressed by the venerable missionary is certainly at variance with that of many others on this important point; and some may, perhaps, be disposed to think that his view of it was unduly influenced by his own feelings and example. No man was, however, more perfectly free from prejudice or mere personal considerations in forming his judgment upon any subject than Swartz; and it deserves to be remembered, that from his peculiarly social and affectionate disposition, few men were better qualified

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33.

to impart and to enjoy the happiness of a married life. This only proves the sincerity and strength of that conviction of duty which could reconcile him to privations of which he could not but be deeply susceptible; and the remunerating goodness of God, who, by the cheering light of his countenance, the visits of his grace, and the hopes and visions of his glory, could, even in solitude, give to his devoted servant "the desires of his heart," and provide for him a satisfying portion of personal happiness.

The sentiments of such a man, therefore, more particularly when viewed in connexion with those of the apostle already referred to, well deserve the serious consideration of all candidates for the office of a missionary. The difficulties and dangers to which those are exposed who follow the example of Swartz in a life of celibacy are, doubtless, great and obvious; nor should they ever be encountered without the deliberate and well founded assurance, which he possessed, of a faith which endures in the hour of trial, which effectually purifies the thoughts and imaginations of the heart, and which, overcoming all the allurements of the world, has "respect unto the recompense of the reward." Examples may, indeed, be adduced of married missionaries, eminently devoted and successful, who have owed much of their comfort and even of their usefulness, to

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the partners of their labours and their cares. Such was the pious and admirable Ziegenbalg, yet not before he had solidly laid the foundation, and had advanced considerably in the promotion of his great work at Tranquebar;[1] such was Elliott, the apostle of the North American Indians; such was Gericke, nearest, perhaps, to Swartz himself, in zeal, in disinterestedness, in success; and such, to mention no others, have been, in general, the Moravian brethren, pre-eminent, it may almost be said, in the highest qualities and achievements of missionary character and labour.

Failures, both in the one class and in the other, might, unhappily, be enumerated. The truth seems to be, that as in many other points of Christian practice, no certain and invariable rule can be laid down, which shall in all cases determine the choice of the missionary concerning a married or a single life. Much must depend upon circumstances, of which a truly upright, devout, and devoted mind can alone rightly judge. Two things may, however, be safely affirmed upon this subject: the one, that, in strict analogy with the apostle's argument before alluded to, the preponderance both of reason and experience is, in general, in favour of the unmarried missionary; the other, that this preponderance would be greatly lessened, if, after the primitive example

[1] See Preliminary Sketch, vol. i. p. 24.

of the United Brethren, Protestant missionaries in the present day would determinately consider themselves as ministers of a distinct and peculiar order, "separated unto the gospel of God;" and if, when conscientiously uniting themselves in marriage, they would never forget the apostolic admonition, "that they that have wives be as though they had none,"—as entirely devoted to God, and as simply dependent on his providential care, as if, like Swartz, they were alone in the world, and had, like him, or rather like the blessed apostle, whose example he so closely followed, but "one thing" to do—to fulfil the ministry which they have received, "to testify the gospel of the grace of God;" to live, not unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them and rose again.

A letter about this time, from Mr. John, one of the missionaries at Tranquebar, contains the following just and pious testimony to the importance and value of Swartz's labours, and of the mission in India. Speaking of Mr. Gericke, he says, "May God keep this dear brother long in life and strength, as he is of great assistance to us, and a guide, a father, and friend, to very many children, widows, and orphans; and whose patience, disinterestedness, and perseverance, we all admire, and endeavour to imitate. He and our dear patriarch, Mr. Swartz, have been, and are, a

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great blessing to the country. We are all joined in fraternal love, and assist each other upon every occasion. Much good has, doubtless, been done by the missions, and will continue to flow from them in proportion as the missionaries prove themselves to be faithful servants of Christ. Let those who are either quite unacquainted with the mission, or who place their happiness in wealth or sensual pleasures, judge, speak, and write what they please, we trust that God Almighty will never forsake his work, but continue his kind providence, which has hitherto been so manifest, and ought to be acknowledged with thanks and gratitude."

To Dr. Schultz Mr. Swartz wrote as follows, in various letters in the course of this year.

"Up to this day, I have still been enabled to fulfil my labours. I am now at Vallam. There are three companies of English soldiers here, who have requested me to give them a word of exhortation once or twice this month.

"Mr. Kohlhoff is well, and unwearied in his labours. He has a meeting for worship every evening with the Europeans in the fort of Tanjore. God has his own people among them, who esteem it a blessing to have the word of salvation preached to them. Seventy or eighty regularly attend. In the church without the fort, I have a similar meeting every morning and evening."—"The gospel

has continued to be fully preached in Tanjore, and the villages around. To the ten youths whom I selected for the purpose, I explain at large the doctrines of Christianity, with the evidences for them out of the Old and New Testaments; so as to enable them to perceive the reasons of their faith distinctly and convincingly."

"We labour in the congregation, and see in many the fruits of our labour. But truly the hindrances to the work of the Lord are not few. Still, if only *some* are gained, our labour is not in vain. God can make all grace abound to us; to him we commend ourselves and his work."

The next extract is strikingly descriptive of his zealous and disinterested anxiety for the missionary cause.

"Early this morning I happened to meet with a letter of my late pious friend ——, which he addressed to you in 1788, and which was then forwarded to me. He says in it: 'Ought not my son to be a missionary? O how ardently do I pray that God will not forsake his work, now that he has opened to our times a wider field than heretofore! If God cause his Spirit to rest on both my sons, they shall hereafter prove active labourers in his vineyard.'

"Now if this son of my deceased friend have natural gifts, and grace,—if he have a desire to preach Christ among the heathen, I beg you to

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send him out at my expense. And if I should be called away by the Lord before his arrival, my brethren will make it good out of the property I leave. The mission is my heir. Our hope standeth in the Lord who made heaven and earth. May he be merciful to us, and promote his work to his own glory!"

"A dark cloud appears to be rising. War with Tippoo is apparently inevitable. He is now on the frontiers with a strong army; and, it is said, expects help from the French."

"I feel my weakness more and more—how long the Lord will yet preserve and use me, rests with him. My times are in his hands. May he be merciful to me, and grant me at last a blessed end! Amen."

The last communication which the Society received from their venerable missionary, was dated from Tanjore, on the 4th of September, 1797, in which he acknowledged the receipt of the secretary's letter for that year, together with the usual stores and presents, salaries and gratuities, for all of which he assured the Society of his brethren's sincere thankfulness. "God," he continued, "had graciously preserved their lives and health, so that he was still able to go through his accustomed work, though with less vigour than heretofore. He added, that, should his life be prolonged, he intended to give a full account

of the mission, at the end of the year; and concluded with a prayer, that God would prosper the work of their revered superiors."

The labours, however, of this apostolic man were now drawing to a close. Within little more than a month after the date of the preceding letter, his last illness commenced; and on the 2nd of February, 1798, Mr. Gericke, in a letter to the Society, communicated the painful and afflicting intelligence, that Mr. Swartz had been, for three months past, dangerously ill, and was not expected to preach again, his illness having affected not only his bodily strength, but also his memory.

He did not at first apprehend that it would prove fatal; but appeared to entertain a wish and expectation of recovery.

"When I spoke to him on the subject," says Mr. Jœnicke, in a letter to one of his brethren, "and expressed a hope that God might yet restore him to health, he said, 'But I should not be able to preach on account of my teeth.' I replied, 'If you only sit here as you do at present, and aid us with your counsel, all things would go on quite differently from what they would if you were to leave us.' But when I next saw him, he said as soon as I entered, 'I think the Lord will at last take me to himself.' I spoke to him a great deal on the subject, but he remained silent, settled some

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pecuniary matters with me, and gave me some money for Palamcottah. All this troubled me much. I prayed and wept; could get no sleep for several nights, and lost my appetite and strength: for various thoughts how things would go on after his departure made me very wakeful. The physicians say there is no danger as yet; but it now appears to me that our dear father will soon leave us. O if God would graciously strengthen him, and spare him to us yet a little while! If he depart to his rest, what shall we both do?"

In his next letter, Mr. Gerické communicated the following interesting particulars of the last sufferings, and of the patience, resignation, and hope, of the revered and venerable missionary.

"That great and good man," he writes, "had often spoken to me of his death. When he mentioned any providential circumstances that had attended him in life, he had been accustomed to add, 'And so God will show me mercy at the end;' and we have great reason to praise Him for the mercies our father and brother experienced during the last days of his abode upon earth. When I arrived at Tanjore, he was in perfect health of body, though his recollection failed him. During the few days in which I went to see our brother Pohlé, at Trichinopoly, he had been afflicted with a mortification in his left foot, which

for years past had occasionally been painful. On my return I was fearful that this would prove fatal. We were thankful, however, to observe, that the power of recollection had almost fully returned. The mortification also was checked, and shortly after removed; and the last days of his life became some of his best. He frequently conversed with Christians and heathens, who visited him, in the same easy and agreeable manner he had been accustomed to when in health. He affectionately exhorted every European that visited him to the earnest care of his soul. He prayed, and he praised God. He desired us to pray with him; and though he must have felt much pain, (which was evident from his groans, when left alone, in the hope of getting rest,) yet when we heard him speak with others, or pray, it was with as much ease as if he had no pain.

"Respecting the mission, he made the following emphatic observation. 'I hope the work will continue; but you will suffer much in carrying it on: he who will suffer nothing is not fit for it.' Of his own congregation, by which he chiefly intended those who lived on either side of his garden, and attended his hours of daily devotion, he said, what it would be well if those who expect too much, or, at least, too hastily, from heathen converts, would bear in mind,—'There is a good beginning in all. If others say, there

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is nothing perfect; I say, look into your own hearts.'"

"Our dear fellow-labourer, Mr. Swartz," thus the missionaries of Tranquebar mention him in their report of January, 1798, "was a few months ago near death. He is now tolerably recovered. The chief subject which constantly engages his attention, is the great goodness of God, and his glorious salvation in Christ, by the contemplation of which his mind is exceedingly cheered, and inspired with a blessed hope full of immortality. Both his heart and mouth overflow with this subject—it is the constant theme of his addresses to the congregation, and of his private conversation."

"Mr. Cœmerer,' writes one of the Tranquebar brethren, "will give you a more explicit account of the present state of Mr. Swartz. This venerable servant of God is extremely comfortable and happy, and enjoys, in Christ his Redeemer, whom he has served so long and with such exemplary fidelity, the most delightful fruits of his faith. He also greatly edifies the congregation by his truly paternal exhortations. But he is no longer competent to transact other business; he appears, as it were, dead to this world, and he longs to depart and to be with Christ. His bright and cheering example is constantly present to my mind, and will leave an indelible impression on the whole of my future life."

The following is the truly interesting report of Mr. Cœmerer, referred to in the preceding extract.

"In November of last year we received distressing accounts of the illness of our revered father Swartz. A cold laid the foundation of this severe illness, which none could have encountered without sinking under it, unless blessed with such a sound constitution as his was. Both Mr. Jœnické and Mr. Kohlhoff were kept in constant apprehension of his speedy dissolution, and the former was really ill from agitation and grief. Mr. Pohlé hastened to Tanjore, and remained several weeks there. I also had determined immediately to pay him a visit, but was detained by the inundations and a multiplicity of pressing engagements, till the commencement of the new year; when I entered upon the journey, and reached Tanjore in the morning of the 8th of January. Mr. Swartz was still asleep. A good appetite and a sound sleep have materially aided the recovery of his bodily strength.

"After Mr. Swartz had been informed of my arrival, he inquired the cause of my having undertaken so long a journey. 'It is once more to see you,' was the answer. 'Why so?' said he; 'there is no cause for uneasiness about me. I am very well indeed.' When I expressed to him my joy and satisfaction that God had helped him thus far, he replied, smiling, 'God is good. If we

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were left destitute of his help, what should we do? We poor worms of the dust; our times are in his hands; he alone can preserve or destroy life. Hitherto he hath endured our manners with truly paternal tenderness; hath spared us in the midst of all our sins and provocations, and crowned us with lovingkindnesses and tender mercies.' When I asked him whether he had suffered much during his late illness, he intimated that he had, comparatively speaking, suffered but little; 'but suppose I had,' he added, 'a sinner ought never to complain of having suffered much.' On the evening of the same day I attended the meeting for prayer, held by him in his large convenient chamber, at which the catechists, the schoolmasters with the children, and many native Christians, used to assemble. I placed myself by his side. He himself gave out the hymn and set the tune. He then read a chapter from the gospel of St. Matthew, catechized the children with such intelligence and connexion, and addressed them on the happiness to be enjoyed in communion with Christ, in so cordial and edifying a manner, that I could not refrain from tears. After this, he knelt down, and offered up a prayer in Tamul, distinguished by such purity of style, fervour of soul and humility of mind, that I was filled with wonder and admiration.

" After all was ended, I still remained with

him for an hour. In his conversation he touched upon the infinite condescension and mercy of God in having called him to the office of a missionary, which he represented as the most honourable and blessed service in which any human being could possibly be employed in this world. 'True,' he added, 'a missionary must bear the cross; but this, my brother, is salutary; the heart is thereby drawn nearer to God; we are kept humble; without such trials the self-willed and proud heart of man would soon exalt itself. The good we receive at the hand of God far exceeds the evil. When I consider all the way which God hath hitherto led me, the distresses from which he hath delivered my soul, and the riches of his goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering, I feel compelled gratefully to exclaim, 'The Lord be magnified!' Believe me, it is a privilege and happiness far beyond all description to enjoy in Christ the remission of sin. Ah! how much hath my Saviour done for such a poor sinner as I am! Look at this poor Christian, (he pointed to one sitting at the gate,) how poor he is in the things of this world, whilst I have every needful supply, and even many a comfort! What is my superiority over him? Suppose he should have committed one thousand sins, I am conscious of having committed ten thousand, and yet my God still bears

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with me. And should I ever think myself entitled to despise a poor man like this ?'

" If this be the feeling and the language of a man who has led the most exemplary life even from his youth, and proved a blessing to thousands, what shall I say—O my God!

" His character is held in such general estimation, that all he says produces a blessed impression upon the minds of the people. When, a few weeks after his dangerous attack, he went again on Christmas-day to the church, which is built in his garden, an universal joy diffused itself all over his congregation: they ran up to him—every one wanted to be the first in testifying to him his joy and gratitude; he could scarcely make his way through the crowd. During his illness many thousand prayers and sighs had ascended to heaven for his recovery.

" On the evening of the 9th I took my leave of him. He pressed my hand, and said, 'I will detain you no longer, my brother! set out on your journey in the name of God, and may he be with you. As to myself, I commit all my concerns to our gracious God. Whether I live, I live unto the Lord, or whether I die, I die unto the Lord.' To my question, whether he would charge me with any commission to the missionaries in Tranquebar, he replied, 'Salute the brethren most cordially. The

God of peace be with them. Not knowing how long it may please God to preserve our lives, let us be up and doing. Though we should not always be privileged immediately to see the success of our labours, let us still persevere, so long as God may allow us to work in his vineyard.'"

The following extract of a letter from Mr. Holtzberg affords an additional testimony to the piety and resignation of the dying missionary.

"We are at present much depressed at the prospect of our soon losing that faithful servant of God, our revered father Swartz. On the day of my arrival his feet began to swell, and his illness is increasing from day to day. He is entirely resigned, and patiently endures every suffering. I have just left him, weak in body, but so cheerful and happy in his mind, that I scarcely could persuade myself he was so near his dissolution. He expounds passages of scripture, and explains hymns, with ease, liveliness, and energy, as if he were addressing a congregation from the pulpit. The Lord do with him as it seemeth good in his sight. He just now expressed himself thus: 'O my God! should it please thee to let me remain in my present state a little longer, be it so, if only thy name is glorified; but if thou shouldest take me to thyself, let it be done for the glory of thy great name!'"

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Every circumstance relating to the last days of this eminent Christian is so interesting and instructive, that the following more expanded narrative of this melancholy yet consoling and animating scene, by Mr. Gericke, though occasionally repeating the preceding brief accounts, cannot but be acceptable.

"I returned to Tanjore," he writes to a friend, in Germany, "from a short journey I had made to Trichinopoly, on the 7th of February, and found that Mr. Swartz's foot had become very bad, and full of black spots, which continued to increase. The physician had begun to employ the bark as a poultice. As we expected the dissolution of our beloved brother every hour, the other brethren besought me to remain with them, and help them to bear the burden. To me it was, indeed, a great blessing, to witness in our dying friend an animating example of faith, of patience, and of hope. When spiritual and heavenly things were the subject of conversation, when he prayed, exhorted, comforted, or spoke of the repose and peace of mind which he enjoyed by the mercy of God through Christ, no failure in his powers of recollection could be perceived. He often introduced a text of holy scripture, or a verse of a hymn which were very appropriate; and always in the language of those to whom he alone addressed himself. Until the previous Friday evening, he often said,

that he did not consider his end so near; and that it would not take place until after much suffering. But after that, he sometimes said, 'I shall now soon depart to my heavenly Father.' Being asked, whether he had the hope that, after his death, the kingdom of God would be further extended in this country, he replied, 'Yes; but it will not be without affliction and trouble.' At another time, when he was asked if he had any thing to say concerning his congregation, he answered, 'Exert yourselves, that they may all go to heaven.' When one remarked with joy, his patience and contentment, he replied, 'Human affliction is universal, and I really suffer very little;' often repeating, in German, 'The faithful God helps us out of trouble, and chastens us with tenderness. How would it be if he should deal with us according to our sins? But in yonder heavenly country, there will be no pain; and this we owe to the Lord Jesus.'

"To his native assistants, who faithfully attended him, he was very grateful, and often said, 'For these poor people's sake, who certainly do all they can, we ought not to complain much, lest we should render their attendance more burthensome.'

"On the morning of the 10th, his tongue was parched, furred, and black, attended with strong spasms of the stomach, and an impeded respira-

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tion. At his desire we offered up a prayer, and thought that it would be the last. Towards evening, however, there was a favourable change, and the fever was much abated. Early on the following day, Samuel, the physician, (probably a native practitioner,) came; who, however, did not attend the patient in a medical capacity, but only assisted in raising him, and applying the embrocations, and who had, the day before, announced to me his approaching death. He said, 'The Lord has done wonders; the symptoms which yesterday indicated his approaching dissolution, have now disappeared.' The English physician, also, when he examined the foot, said, he was astonished at the unexpected improvement, and added, that he now no longer feared that his patient would die of the mortification, though his recovery was not to be expected.

"On the 12th, in the afternoon, I intended to set out on my return. On taking leave of him, he said, 'Remember me affectionately to all the brethren, and tell them from me never to lose sight of *the main object*, and strictly to maintain the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. I shall now soon depart to the Lord Jesus. If he will receive me, and forgive my sins, and not enter into judgment with me, but deal with me according to his tender mercy, all will be well with me, and I shall praise him. He might reject us for our very

works' sake, because sin cleaves to them all.' He thanked God for permitting him to leave the world in the midst of his faithful brethren, and that I had been brought to visit him during his last illness, and to commend him to Jesus, as the only Saviour, as the resurrection and the life. 'Now,' he added, 'pray yet once again.' I knelt down, in company with Mr. Kohlhoff, who had entered in the mean while, and adapted my prayer to the subject of the hymn, 'To thee alone, Lord Jesus Christ.' CHAP. XXI. 1798.

"After applying fresh poultices to the diseased foot, he was removed into another room. It was then that we first perceived his extreme debility; and that he appeared much nearer to his dissolution than he had been on the preceding Sunday. Again, therefore, I was detained.

"In the afternoon, he conversed much with Mr. Jœnické. In the evening, I came to him, with the physician, whom he distinctly recognized, and said to him, 'Let us all take care that none of us be left behind!' He expressed much gratitude to the physician for his attendance, and also thanked us his brethren, and the native assistants. These last did every thing in their power with the greatest readiness; love to their paternal teacher made all easy to them; and every instructive word that he addressed to them they caught up with the greatest avidity, and delighted

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to be about him. The physician was much affected, and entreated me not to leave the patient, now that he was so weak.

"This evening he suffered more than before; for the lifting him up and moving him, and even the sitting and lying in bed, were extremely painful to him. But his patience, resignation, earnestness in prayer, and fervour of gratitude in the midst of pain and exhaustion, never abated; not a complaint was heard; sighs only testified what he endured. I said to him, among other things, 'God grant that we may, in our last conflict, be able to await our end in such peace, and in such a happy frame, as, to our consolation and joy, are imparted to you!' 'May He grant it,' he rejoined, 'in the richest abundance!' All our hearts were moved by the affectionate energy with which he uttered these words.

"In the night of the 12th, he had, during the intervals of pain, a little sleep; and in the forenoon of the following day he fell into a kind of stupor, and his pulse was very feeble. When he awoke, he spoke, indeed, but only a few words could be understood, though he appeared to comprehend all that was said to him. We expected that thus he would slumber away; but at noon, on the 13th, he revived again. We sung the hymn, 'Christ is my life,' when he began to sing with us, spoke very humbly of himself, and ex-

tolled his Redeemer, and wished to be dissolved and to be with Christ. 'Had it pleased him,' he said, 'to spare me longer, I should have been glad: I should then have been able to speak yet a word to the sick and poor; but his will be done! May He but in mercy receive me! Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth!' After this, the native assistants sung the last verse of the hymn, 'O head so full of bruises,'—in which he frequently joined. He then rested a little; after which, he desired to be raised up, and unexpectedly he opened his lips, from which had issued so much instruction and consolation, and thus expired in the arms of his faithful and attached native fellow-labourers, about four o'clock.

"Very affecting were the weeping and the sobs of the people, in both the Christian villages on each side of the garden, which were heard during the whole night. The distress, that now their instructor, their comforter, their guardian, their benefactor, their counsellor, their advocate, was no more, was universal. Not only we, the congregations, the schools, and the missions, but the whole country has lost a parent. Every one who knew him, bewails him.

"On the day following, between four and five in the afternoon, we committed his body to the grave we had made for him in the garden. Ser-

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fojee, the Tanjore prince, whose guardian he had been, came to see him before the coffin was closed, bedewed him with his tears, and accompanied him to the grave. The native assistants asked permission to bear the corpse; but as Europeans had been appointed the day before, it was declined. We commenced a hymn on our way to the church; but the lamentations of the people drowned the voices. There was singing in the church before and after the interment; and when the Europeans had retired, the natives themselves began a hymn, and awaited an address from me; but I could hardly utter even a few words, and was obliged to summon up all my resolution to read the service. The servant of the deceased stood near me, and said, almost as if fainting, 'Now he who was the desire of us all is gone!' The exclamation went to my heart: but this is not the language of one, but of many, old and young, great and small, near and afar, Christians and heathen.

"When I had disrobed, I repaired to the prince, who remained still in the neighbourhood, and endeavoured to comfort him. The chief servant of the widow of the former king also begged me to visit and comfort her; but she resided too far off. On the following morning, we all waited on the physician, and thanked him for the kind attention which he had shown to our departed

brother, in his last illness. Having been appointed trustee to the affairs of Mr. Swartz, I then examined his papers, and found that the mission at Tanjore, together with the poor, and the several institutions attached to it, were made the heirs to his property. In the afternoon, I conversed for an hour with the assistants, and prayed with them. In the evening the Tamul congregation assembled in the church, and wished to hear a sermon. I chose the words of Jacob, on his death-bed,—'Behold, I die; but God will be with you.' I introduced many things which the deceased had said concerning the congregation, and his hope that the kingdom of Christ would advance in this country. I exhorted them to cultivate the dispositions by which their late friend and teacher, whose grave was then visible before them, had been so eminently distinguished. On the following day I again prayed with the brethren, and departed. Thus this excellent man, who has been so important to the mission, is no more. O that his piety may animate all who are engaged in the same blessed work! May God assist and support the missionary cause, and fulfil the prayers so often presented to him on its behalf by this his devoted servant, for the extension of the kingdom of Christ in the Eastern world!"

Such is the simple, but deeply interesting nar-

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rative given by the pious and excellent Gericke, of the last illness and death of his departed friend. It is strikingly characteristic of the venerable missionary, and beautifully descriptive of the piety and peace, the faith and patience, the fervent devotion, the holy love, and heavenly hope of the dying Christian. It would be difficult to add to the interest of this mournful but animating and consoling scene. Yet, as the brethren and friends of the departing missionary visited him at intervals, while the general and more important features of it were witnessed by them all, each individual observed and heard something new and particular. His faithful colleague, and almost adopted son, Mr. Kohlhoff, who was near him during the whole of his illness, would more especially be anxious to treasure in his memory all the circumstances which attended the dying bed of his revered and beloved friend and father. It was not, however, till the end of the following year that he found himself at leisure to transmit his own record of the scene to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; and in doing so, he apologized for the delay by the weight of business which had pressed upon him in consequence of that lamented event, and of the illness of his valuable friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Jœnicke.

He then proceeded with the following affecting

detail of the last days, and the death of Mr. Swartz; "every account of whom," as the Society justly observed, "serves only to increase the veneration entertained for his valuable and exemplary character." The general outline and some of the incidents coincide with what has been already related; but as Mr. Kohlhoff's narrative comprises a period of three months previously to the arrival of Mr. Gericke, many very instructive and important particulars will be observed which do not occur in his shorter memorial. The interview of the dying missionary with the Hindoo prince, of whom he had been the faithful guardian and friend, will be read with peculiar interest.

"From the beginning of January," says Mr. Kohlhoff, "to the middle of October, 1797, he pursued his labours in his ministerial office, and in his studies, with great fervour, under all the disadvantages of his advanced age. He preached every Sunday in the English and Tamulian languages by turns, and on Wednesday he preached a lecture in the Portuguese language, for the space of several weeks, and afterwards in German to the privates who had been made prisoners in the island of Ceylon, and, having entered our service, were incorporated in his majesty's 51st regiment, stationed at this place.

"He made likewise a journey to Trichinopoly, and several times visited Vellum, (a town six

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miles from Tanjore,) in order to preach the word of God to some companies of the 51st regiment, stationed at that place, and to invite the heathens to accept the blessings of the gospel.

"During the course of the week he explained the new Testament in his usual order at morning and evening prayers, which were begun and concluded by singing some verses of a hymn; and he dedicated an hour every day for instructing the Malabar school children in the doctrines of Christianity. He was very solicitous for their improvement in knowledge and piety, and particularly for those whom he had chosen and was training up for the service of the church; for whose benefit he wrote, during the latter part of his life, an explanation of the principal doctrines of Christianity, an abridgement of Bishop Newton's Exposition of the Revelation, and some other books.

"Though his strength and vigour were greatly impaired, yet his love to his flock constrained him to deny himself a great deal of that ease and repose which his great age required, and to exert all his remaining strength for their improvement in true religion. He took a particular delight in visiting the members of his congregation, with whom he conversed freely upon the subjects relating to their eternal interest. He told them plainly whatever was blameable in their conduct,

and animated them, by every powerful argument, to walk worthy of their Christian profession. It was a most pleasing sight to see the little children flock to him with such joy as children feel on meeting their beloved parent after some absence, and to observe his engaging and delightful method in leading them to the knowledge of God, and of their duty.

"He heard almost every day the accounts delivered by the catechists of their conversations with Christians, papists, and heathen, and the effects produced by them, and embraced every opportunity of giving them directions for a wise and faithful discharge of their office.

"His strength was visibly on the decline during the last year of his life, and he frequently spoke of his departure, to which he looked forward with joy and delight. The commencement of his illness, which happened on the 17th of October, 1797, consisted only of a cold and hoarseness. Dr. Kennedy, who was his particular friend, prescribed for him, but without effect, and he suffered severely from sickness till the 27th of November following.

"It was very afflicting to witness the state of our venerable father, and every remedy rendered fruitless which was tried by that humane and excellent man, the late Dr. Stuart, who acted for Dr. Kennedy during his absence. My distress

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would have proved insupportable, if a merciful God had not strengthened and comforted me through the unexpected arrival of the Rev. Mr. Jœnické on the 4th of November.

"Under all his severe sufferings, he never uttered a single expression of impatience—his mind was always calm and serene. Once, when he was in great pain, he said, 'If it be the will of the Lord to take me to heaven, his will be done—may his name be praised!'

"Although his strength was quite exhausted, and his body extremely emaciated, yet, under all this calamity, he desired that the school children, and others who usually attended the evening prayers, should assemble in his parlour, where, after singing, he expounded a portion of the Holy Scriptures in a very affecting manner, and concluded it with his fervent and importunate prayers. It was always his custom to hear the English school children read to him a few chapters out of the Bible after evening prayer, and to hear them sing some of Dr. Watts's hymns. During his illness, he seemed particularly pleased with that excellent hymn, which begins with the following words:—

'Far from my thoughts, vain world, begone,
Let my religious hours alone;
Fain would mine eyes my Saviour see,
I wait a visit, Lord, from thee!'

He called it his beloved song, and desired the children to sing it frequently to him.

"He earnestly exhorted and entreated the heathen, who visited him in his illness, to forsake their idolatry, and to consider betimes the things which belonged to their peace. When one of them began relating that wonderful things occurred in the town, our venerable father answered, 'The most wonderful thing is, that after hearing so often the doctrines of Christianity, and being convinced of the truth of it, you are, notwithstanding, backward to embrace and obey it.' In conversing with another heathen of consequence, he expressed his great regret at leaving him in his idolatry, when he was entering into eternity; and added the following words: 'I have often exhorted and warned you, but you have hitherto disregarded it. You esteem and honour the creature more than the Creator.'

"On the 23d of November, he was visited by Serfojee, the present rajah, then presumptive heir to the kingdom of Tanjore, and to whom Mr. Swartz was appointed guardian by the late Tulja Maha Rajah. On being informed that Serfojee Rajah wished to see him, he let him know that he should come immediately, as he doubted whether he should survive till the next day. On his arrival, he received him very affectionately, and then delivered to him his dying

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charge, by which, though pronounced in broken language, the rajah seemed to be deeply affected. The tenor of his speech was as follows:—

"'After God has called me hence, I request you will be careful not to indulge a fondness for pomp and grandeur. You are convinced that my endeavours to serve you have been disinterested; what I now request of you is, that you would be kind to the Christians. If they behave ill, let them be punished; but if they do well, show yourself to them as their father and protector.

"'As the administration of justice is indispensably necessary to the prosperity and happiness of every state, I request you will establish regular courts, and be careful that impartial justice be administered. I heartily wish you would renounce your idolatry, and serve and honour the only true God. May he be merciful, and enable you to do it!'

"Our venerable father then inquired whether he sometimes perused the Bible; and concluded with very affecting exhortations to be mindful of the concerns of his immortal soul.[1]

[1] The following somewhat enlarged account of this interesting address to the prince of Tanjore, is contained in the report by Mr. Cœmmerer, already referred to, of his visit to the venerable missionary during his last illness.

"'There is every appearance that it may please God soon to take me to himself. I have on previous occasions told you much, and from sincere affection given you many a friendly

"The resident, Mr. Macleod, who had been on a visit to Trichinopoly for some weeks, hearing on his arrival the ill state of Mr. Swartz's health, had the kindness to send for Dr. Stuart from Trichinopoly. The doctor arrived here on the first of December, and after consulting with his other medical attendant, he recommended the

admonition. I need not, therefore, now enlarge; but will confine myself to four points only, to which, I trust, you will carefully attend.

"'If you actually enter upon the government of your dominions, I would earnestly intreat you to abstain from all needless pomp, extravagant expenses, and the indulgence of sensual pleasures. I would affectionately advise you to walk in humility, which is so well pleasing to God.

"'In the next place, I would respectfully recommend you to pay the strictest attention to the maintenance of justice and equity in your country; and to promote the prosperity of your subjects by all means in your power. Appoint for this purpose a supreme tribunal, and personally attend it once or twice every week in order to convince yourself, as an eye and ear-witness, in what way justice is administered in your dominions.

"'You will allow that I have done much on your behalf without soliciting or accepting any thing in return, for my own personal advantage. Remember this on your entering upon the government. Protect the Christians in your native land; defend them against every kind of oppression. If they act amiss, punish them; but do not disturb them in the free exercise of their faith.

"'My last and most earnest wish is'—(here he raised his hands towards heaven)—'that God in his infinite mercy may graciously regard you, and lead your heart and soul to Christ, that I may meet you again as his true disciple before his throne!'—The prince was deeply affected, for he reveres Mr. Swartz as a father."

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tincture of steel to be taken with an infusion of bark, which, by the blessing of God, put a stop to the sickness, with which he had been afflicted since the 17th of October.

"On the 3d of December, the first Sunday in Advent, very early in the morning, he sent for the Rev. Mr. Jœnické and myself, and desired the Lord's Supper to be administered to him, which was accordingly done by Mr. Jœnické. Before he received it, he put up a long and affecting prayer. To hear this eminent servant of Christ, who had faithfully served his Redeemer very near half a century, disclaiming all merit of his own, humbling himself before the footstool of the divine Majesty as the chief of sinners, and grounding all his hopes of mercy and salvation on the unmerited grace of God, and the meritorious sacrifice of his beloved Saviour, was a great lesson of humility to us.[1]

[1] In the account which the pious Jœnické gave of this affecting scene in a letter to Mr. John, of Tranquebar, he mentions that the prayer thus offered up by the dying missionary was in German, and that he concluded with the following petition for the whole human race.

"'They are all thy redeemed. Thou hast shed thy blood for them—have pity upon them.' Last of all," he says, "he prayed for the Christians especially, mentioned the mission with sighs, and commended it to the compassion of Jesus. He received the Holy Supper (Mr. Kohlhoff and I taking it with him) with great emotion and joy; and was afterwards full of praise and

"Our joy was great on his temporary recovery; but, alas! it was soon changed into sorrow, when we observed that the severe attacks of his illness had, in a great degree, affected the powers of his mind. It was, however, surprising to us that, though his thoughts seemed to be incoherent when he spoke of worldly subjects, they were quite connected when he prayed or discoursed about divine things.

"After his recovery he frequently wished, according to his old custom, that the school children and Christians should assemble in his parlour for evening prayer, with which we complied, in order to please him, though we were concerned to observe that these exertions were too much for his feeble frame.

"The happy talent which he possessed of making almost every conversation instructive and edifying, did not forsake him, even under his weak and depressed state. One morning when his friend Dr. Kennedy visited him (after his

thanksgiving. Contrary to our expectation," continues Mr. Jœnické, "he slept from two o'clock till ten, when the physician awoke him. To whom he said, 'My whole meditation is the death of Jesus, and that I may be like him;" and then added, 'the whole world is *a mask;* I wish to be where all is real.' He likewise spoke to me to the same effect. He can speak but little; but what he does say refers to that which is his element, and on which his soul is singly and solely employed."—*Memoirs of Jœnické.*

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return) the conversation turning upon Dr. Young's Night Thoughts, which was one of Mr. Swartz's favourite books, he observed to the doctor, that those weighty truths contained in it were not intended to imply that we should abandon society, renounce our business, and retire into a corner, but to convince us of the emptiness of the honours, the riches, and pleasures of this world, and to engage us to fix our hearts where true treasures are to be found. He then spoke with peculiar warmth on the folly of minding the things of this world as our chief good, and the wisdom and happiness of thinking on our eternal concerns.

"It was highly pleasing to hear the part which he took in his conversations with the Rev. Mr. Pohlé, who visited him a little after his recovery, and which generally turned on the many benefits and consolations purchased to believers through Christ. He was transported with joy when he spoke on those subjects; and I hope I may with truth call it a foretaste of that joy which he is now experiencing in the presence of his Redeemer, and in the Society of the blessed.

"On the 2nd of February, last year, our venerable father had the satisfaction of seeing the Rev. Mr. Gericke, Mr. Holtzberg, and his family. Little did we think that the performance of the last offices for him would prove a part of the

duty of our worthy senior, the Rev. Mr. Gericke: and I bless and praise God for leading his faithful servant to us at that very time, when we were most in need of his assistance and comfort.

"On the second or third day after Mr. Gericke's arrival, Mr. Swartz complained of a little pain in his right foot, occasioned by an inflammation, to remove which repeated fomentations were applied; but a few days after we observed, to our inexpressible grief, the approach of a mortification. Dr. Kennedy tried every remedy to remove it, and would, perhaps, have effected the cure, if his frame had been able to support what he suffered. He was an example of patience under all these calamities. He did not utter, during the whole of his illness, one single impatient word.

"The last week of his life he was obliged to lie on his cot the greatest part of the day, and as he was of a robust constitution, it required great labour and exertion to remove him to a chair, when he would sit up. These exertions contributed to weaken him more and more.

"During his last illness, the Rev. Mr. Gericke visited him frequently, and spent much of his time with him in conversing on the precious promises of God through Christ, in singing awakening hymns, and in offering his fervent prayers to God to comfort and strengthen his aged servant

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under his severe sufferings, to continue and increase his divine blessing upon his labours for the propagation of the gospel, and to bless all the pious endeavours of the Society, and all those institutions established in this country for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ.

"He rehearsed with peculiar emphasis (whilst we were singing) particular parts of the hymns expressing the believer's assurance of faith, and of the great love of God in Christ. His fervour was visible to every one present whilst Mr. Gericke was praying; and by his loud amen showed his ardent desire for the accomplishment of our united petitions.

"A few days before he entered into the joy of his Lord, Mr. Gericke asked him whether he had any thing to say to the brethren? His answer was, 'Tell them that it is my request that they should make the faithful discharge of their office their chief care and concern.'

"A day or two before his departure, when he was visited by the doctor, he said, 'Doctor, in heaven there will be no pain.' 'Very true,' replied the doctor; 'but we must keep you here as long as we can.' He paused a few moments, and then addressed him in these words, 'O, dear doctor, let us take care that we may not be missing there!' These words were delivered with such an affectionate tone of voice, that they made

a deep impression on the doctor, and on every one present.

"On Wednesday, the 13th of February, which closed the melancholy scene, we observed with deep concern the approach of his dissolution. The Rev. Messrs. Gericke, Jœnicke, Holtzberg, and myself, were much with him in the morning, and in the afternoon we sung several excellent hymns, and offered up our prayers and praises to God, in which he joined us with fervour and delight. After we had retired he prayed silently, and at one time he uttered the following words: 'O Lord, hitherto thou hast preserved me; hitherto thou hast brought me; and hast bestowed innumerable benefits upon me. Do what is pleasing in thy sight. I commend my spirit into thy hands; cleanse and adorn it with the righteousness of my Redeemer, and receive me into the arms of thy love and mercy.'"

It was after this pious and eminently Christian commendation of his soul into the hands of his faithful Creator and merciful Redeemer, that the interesting and affecting incident occurred, which is briefly alluded to in Mr. Gericke's narrative of his dying friend. That excellent man was watching by his side; and observing him apparently lifeless, with his eyes closed, as if his spirit had already winged its immortal

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flight, he began to sing their favourite hymn, 'Only to Thee, Lord Jesus Christ!' and finished the first verse; when on commencing the second, to his astonishment and delight, the venerable missionary revived, accompanied him with a clear and melodious voice, and completed the long cherished hymn before he breathed his last.

"About two hours after we had retired," continues Mr. Kohlhoff, "he sent for me, and looking upon me with a benignant countenance, he solemnly imparted his last paternal blessing. On offering him something to drink, he wished to be placed on a chair; but as soon as he was raised upon the cot, he bowed his head, and without a groan or a struggle, he shut his eyes, and died, between four and five in the afternoon, in the seventy-second year of his age.

"Though our minds were deeply afflicted at the loss of our beloved father, yet the consideration of his most edifying conduct during his illness, his incredible patience under his severe pains, his triumphant death, and the evident traces of sweetness and composure which were left on his countenance, prevented the burst of our sorrows for the present, and animated us to praise God for his great mercies bestowed on us through his faithful servant, and to entreat him to enable us to follow his blessed example, that our last end might be like his.

"His remains were committed to the earth on the 14th of February, about five in the afternoon, in the chapel out of the Fort, erected by him near his habitation, in the garden given to him by the late Tuljah Maha Rajah.

"His funeral was a most awful and very affecting sight. It was delayed a little beyond the appointed time, as Serfojee Rajah wished once more to look at him. The affliction which he suffered at the loss of the best of his friends was very affecting. He shed a flood of tears over his body, and covered it with a gold cloth. We intended to sing a funeral hymn, whilst the body was conveyed to the chapel; but we were prevented from it by the bitter cries and lamentations of the multitudes of poor who had crowded into the garden, and which pierced through our souls. We were of course obliged to defer it till our arrival at the chapel.

"The burial service was performed by the Rev. Mr. Gericke, in the presence of the rajah, the resident, and most of the gentlemen who resided in the place, and a great number of native Christians, full of regret for the loss of so excellent a minister—the best of men. O may a merciful God grant, that all those who are appointed to preach the gospel to the heathen world may follow the example of this venerable servant of Christ! And may he send many such faithful

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labourers to fulfil the pious intentions and endeavours of the honourable Society for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ! May he mercifully grant it, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen."

CHAPTER XXII.

Reflections on the death of Swartz—Testimonies of respect and veneration for his memory; from his brethren at Tanjore and Tranquebar; and from Serfojee Rajah—Interesting anecdote of the latter—He erects a Monument to Swartz at Tanjore—Epitaph by the Rajah—Other proofs of his regard—His conversations with Dr. Buchanan, and Bishops Middleton and Heber—Reflections on the continued Superstition of the two Rajahs—Monument to Swartz at Madras, by the Court of Directors—Honours paid to his memory by the Government of Fort St. George—Eulogy by Dr. Kerr—His last Will.

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Such was the calm and peaceful, yet triumphant departure of this distinguished missionary. The circumstances which attended his death were precisely those which might have been anticipated, from the uniform tenor of his life. The one had been eminently pious and consistent, exemplary and holy; the other was accompanied by those evident tokens of the divine presence, and those bright beams of divine consolation, hope, and joy, with which the heavenly Master, whom he had so long and so faithfully served, seldom fails to irra-

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diate "the chamber where the good man breathes his last."

The loss of so excellent and valuable a person, who had, during nearly half a century, occupied so conspicuous a place in the sphere in which he moved, could not but be deeply felt by all who had either witnessed or participated in the important benefits of which he had been, in various ways, the instrument or the author. His missionary brethren, his native converts, the Society which he had so faithfully served, and upon whose Christian efforts he had reflected so much honour, the Hindoo prince, of whom he had been the most disinterested and able guardian and friend, and the East Indian government, both at home and abroad, to which he had been so cordially attached, and whose best interests he had so zealously and effectively strengthened and promoted, all vied with each other in the expression of their regret and sorrow at his removal, of their admiration and love of his singular excellences, and of their grateful veneration for his memory.

The feelings of his immediate colleagues and friends at Tanjore and Trichinopoly, have been already expressed in the pious and affectionate memorials of Mr. Gericke and Mr. Kohlhoff. His brethren at Tranquebar, who, from his early connexion with that mission, always regarded him with peculiar esteem and love, in

their letters to their European friends, mentioned his death "as an almost irreparable loss," and sympathised deeply on the occasion with their brethren of the English mission, as they all considered him more as a father than a brother. "Many tears," they write, "had been shed on his death throughout the country, by Europeans and natives, and even by the rajah of Tanjore, who looked up to Mr. Swartz with filial reverence, and for his sake showed much kindness to the missionaries and Christian congregations in that country. They praised God that he had not been taken from them on a sudden, but gradually, and in so edifying a manner."

On Mr. Gericke's return from Tanjore, he passed a few days at Tranquebar, when he and his Christian brethren there "mutually encouraged each other to follow the high example that had been set them by Mr. Swartz."

"Our loss," he writes, a few months afterwards, "is his gain; but there are thousands of Christians, Mahomedans, and heathen in India, both high and low, rich and poor, who will deeply lament his death; and in Europe also many will most sincerely regret it. The Lord Jesus grant, that we may as entirely and unreservedly follow him, our divine Head and Master, as our dearly beloved brother did! O may he not take his holy Spirit from us; but impart it both to our

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congregations and to ourselves, in a still richer measure, yea, 'exceeding abundantly,' as Swartz expressed it shortly before his death! We cannot but anticipate much tribulation both from without and from within. The presence and influence of a man of Mr. Swartz's stamp and established character, proved a more powerful protection to us than the patronage and support of kings."

The missionaries at Tranquebar thus touchingly advert to this painfully interesting subject in an official letter to Professor Schultz.

"The first event which we have to communicate is one of supreme importance to the mission, and which affects us most deeply. It is the death of our invaluable fellow-labourer Swartz. God took him to himself on the 13th of February. He has entered into rest, and his works do follow him. And who should not rejoice with him on account of the state of blessedness which he has now attained! But our eyes overflow with tears. We remember and lament him as children would an affectionately beloved father; and the loss occasioned by his death is rendered still more painful by the consideration, that we can scarcely now expect from Europe fellow-labourers of the mind, spirit, and temper with which Swartz was so eminently endowed. Our dear Gericke was present both at his dying bed, and at his funeral."

In a summary of the state of the Tranquebar

mission at the commencement of the following year, the same excellent men recurred at still greater length, and in a strain of Christian and pathetic eloquence, to the death of their revered friend and father.

"The happy and peaceful entrance of the late Mr. Swartz into the joy of his Lord, is already known," they write, "to the Christian public. Thousands in India, who knew him as their teacher, friend, father, brother, and benefactor, have shed tears of sorrow and sympathy over him; and we are confident that numbers in Europe, and especially in England, who made his personal acquaintance, will bless his memory. Indeed his name will be handed down to posterity. If all could be collected that he has been enabled to accomplish for near half a century, not for the benefit of the mission only, but for the Indian population at large, it would, we are fully persuaded, constitute one of the most remarkable, interesting, and instructive biographies. If it be such an unspeakable privilege and blessing to be an instrument in the hand of God for the salvation of one single soul, what will it be in the case of Swartz? Doubtless a numerous company of redeemed souls will meet him in the mansions of the blessed above, and welcome him as that endeared friend and benefactor, who, both by his oral and by his written instructions, first produced in their minds an earnest

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concern for their own salvation, and who afterwards led them on from step to step in the narrow way to heaven, encouraging, cheering, and strengthening them; among whom there might be mentioned some 'noble after the flesh.' Many others, who are still in the land of the living, will be greatly stimulated by a remembrance of his pure doctrine and bright Christian example to a renewed zeal in their holy career, and the lively wish will be excited in their breast, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!'

"Indeed his death was no less instructive to us than his life had been. He was not taken from us by a sudden stroke, which would have proved too great a shock to our distressed minds; but the kind providence of God removed him gently and gradually from us. For these several months past he began to die to the world, and to worldly business at large, in consequence of repeated attacks of sickness which deprived him almost entirely of the power of recollection; but he was yet spared to the more select circle of his congregation, to which he addressed the most affectionate exhortations, and with the members of which he joined in most earnest prayers, like one who had already reached the antechamber of heaven, his eyes beaming with sacred joy, and a silent tear often falling upon his animated face. On his dying bed,

he exemplified, in an eminent degree, before his colleagues and fellow Christians, an unshaken faith, a fervent love, and the most cheering hope. Thus he continued to communicate blessings all around, both by word and deed. The bitterness of death was entirely taken away; peace and serenity were perceptible in all the features of his countenance up to the last moment of his earthly existence, and he literally 'fell asleep in Jesus.' A very large company of high and low, Christians and heathen, accompanied him to the grave. The prince (now reigning king) of Tanjore, expressly desired to see his corpse, bent over it, and suffused the face of him, who had been his tutor and protector—nay, more than this—who had acted the part of a father, with a flood of grateful tears. Our whole missionary cause and work will long enjoy the fruits of this happy and providential connexion."

We have already seen that the efforts of Mr. Swartz to establish the validity of Serfojee's adoption, having been sanctioned by the approbation of the supreme government in Bengal, waited only the decision of the Court of Directors to be crowned with complete success. Intelligence of this important event reached India in the month of June 1798; when Ameer Sing was formally deposed, and the young prince was raised to the throne.

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"On the 28th of June," write the Tranquebar missionaries, "Serfojee, the adopted son of the late Rajah of Tanjore, was proclaimed king. This prince is under the greatest obligations to the late venerated Swartz, as well as to his fellow-labourers in the English mission; and we cannot but cherish the pleasing hope, that he will be sensible of the eminent services thus rendered to him, and that the missionary cause, as well as the whole country, will derive lasting advantages from this change."

These anticipations were, happily, well founded. It will, indeed, be readily believed, that the affection which had prompted the young Tanjore prince voluntarily to depart from the customs of his country, in bedewing the remains of his venerable friend with his tears, and following in the train of Christian mourners at his funeral, was no transient effusion of grateful feeling. On his accession to the musnud, mindful of the admonitions of his departed benefactor, he corrected various abuses, and endeavoured to render his subjects of every denomination happy, by a just and mild government, and was particularly beneficent to the poor Christians at Tanjore, in furnishing a large supply of grain for their support during a time of scarcity.

A treaty having been concluded with the new rajah in the following year, in consequence of

which the forts of Tanjore were evacuated by the British troops, the English service was discontinued in the fort church; but the rajah permitted the missionaries to perform the Tamul service there, and promised to protect them from all molestation.

Notwithstanding this assurance, no sooner had the British garrison been withdrawn, and the forts replaced under the sole and absolute authority of the rajah, than a report prevailed that it was the intention of his highness to take down the Christian Church which had been erected by Mr. Swartz, and to rebuild it on the esplanade. The whole of the small fort of Tanjore being holy ground, devoted originally to the purposes of the pagoda, together with the extreme anxiety displayed by the rajah, to efface, by extraordinary purifications, all the effects and traces of the pollution which had been inflicted on the pagoda, for twenty years, by its contact with an European garrison, gave a degree of probability to the report, that inclined the resident, Mr. Torin, to take an opportunity of speaking to the rajah on the subject.

"I was present as interpreter," observes Colonel Blackburne, in whose expressive and elegant language the following anecdote, equally honourable to the rajah, and to the pious missionary, is

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related, "at the interview between the rajah and the resident, when the latter, in the course of general and familiar conversation, alluded, with as much delicacy as possible, to the supposed intention of his highness to remove the church. The effect on the rajah was very striking. He became agitated; the colour heightened; he half rose from his seat, and his first words, in answer to the resident, were an indignant reproach to that gentleman for paying any attention whatever to a calumny, which could be credited by none but those who were alike ignorant of his disposition and principles, and of the early events of his life. He eulogized, in glowing terms, the character and conduct of Mr. Swartz, spoke of his various obligations to the venerable padre, and concluded in a loud and somewhat passionate tone, as follows:—

"'So far from pulling down any church built by Mr. Swartz, I would, if his successors wanted a church in the fort, and could not find a convenient spot to build it on, give them a place in my own palace for the purpose.'

"Although thirty-three years have passed away since this conversation, I retain a very lively remembrance of the force of the rajah's expressions, and of the energy of his look and manner, when he spurned the report as a calumny, inju-

rious to his honour as a prince, and to his undecaying feelings of grateful and affectionate attachment to his preceptor, benefactor, and friend." CHAP. XXII.

In the year 1801, the Hindoo prince gave another remarkable proof of his gratitude and respect for his late excellent friend, by requesting the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge to send out a monument to his memory.

"Enclosed," Mr. Gericke writes, "I beg leave to send you a letter from Serfojee, Maha rajah of Tanjore, and to recommend its contents to the Society. No son can have a greater regard for his father, than this good Hindoo had for Mr. Swartz, and still has for his memory."

The letter of the rajah is as follows:—

"*To the honourable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.*

"HONOURABLE SIRS;

"I have requested of your missionaries to write to you, their superiors and friends, and to apply to you in my name, for a monument of marble, to be erected in their church that is in my capital and residency, to perpetuate the memory of the late Rev. Father Swartz, and to manifest the great esteem I have for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude I owe him,

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my father, my friend, the protector and guardian of my youth; and now I beg leave to apply to you myself, and to beg that, upon my account, you will order such a monument for the late reverend missionary Father Swartz, to be made, and to be sent out to me, that it may be fixed to the pillar that is next to the pulpit from which he preached. The pillars of the church are about two cubits broad.

"May you, honourable sirs, ever be enabled to send to this country such missionaries as are like the late Rev. Mr. Swartz!

"I am, honourable Sirs,

"Yours, faithfully and truly,

"SERFOJEE RAJAH.

"Tanjore, May 28th, 1801."

The Society to whom this interesting letter, probably the composition of the distinguished writer, was addressed, feeling the importance of the testimony thus borne to the high character of their late invaluable missionary, readily acquiesced in the request of the rajah; and a monument, executed by Flaxman, was, in consequence sent out to Tanjore, with the following chaste and appropriate inscription:

To the Memory of the

REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ,

BORN AT SONNENBURG OF NEUMARK, IN THE KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA,
THE 26TH OF OCTOBER, 1726,

AND DIED AT TANJORE, THE 13TH OF FEBRUARY, 1798,

IN THE SEVENTY-SECOND YEAR OF HIS AGE.

DEVOTED FROM HIS EARLY MANHOOD TO THE OFFICE OF

MISSIONARY IN THE EAST,

THE SIMILARITY OF HIS SITUATION TO THAT

OF THE FIRST PREACHERS OF THE GOSPEL,

PRODUCED IN HIM A PECULIAR RESEMBLANCE

TO THE SIMPLE SANCTITY OF

THE APOSTOLIC CHARACTER.

HIS NATURAL VIVACITY WON THE AFFECTION, AS HIS
UNSPOTTED PROBITY AND PURITY OF LIFE ALIKE COMMANDED THE
REVERENCE OF

THE CHRISTIAN, MAHOMEDAN, AND HINDU;

FOR SOVEREIGN PRINCES, HINDU AND MAHOMEDAN,

SELECTED THIS HUMBLE PASTOR

AS THE MEDIUM OF POLITICAL NEGOCIATION WITH THE

BRITISH GOVERNMENT;

AND THE VERY MARBLE WHICH HERE RECORDS HIS VIRTUES
WAS RAISED BY

THE LIBERAL AFFECTION AND ESTEEM OF THE

RAJAH OF TANJORE,

MAHA RAJA SERFOJEE.

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The group, in white marble, of which this beautiful monument is composed, represents, in basso relievo, the death-bed of the departing saint, Gerické standing behind him, two native attendants and three children of his school around his bed, and the Hindoo prince at his side, grasping the hand, and receiving the blessing of his dying friend. For some time, the rajah, unwilling, perhaps, to lose sight of an object which recalled a scene so dear to him, retained this monument in his palace; in the principal saloon of which, amidst the portraits of his ancestors, he had also placed that of Swartz. It was at length removed to the church in the inner fort; the western end of which it now adorns, and where, it is hoped, it may long remain—a striking and gratifying memorial of Christian excellence, and of Hindoo gratitude and affection.

The following lines, inscribed on the granite stone, which covers the grave of Swartz in front of the altar, in the chapel of the mission garden, were composed by the rajah himself; and if we may not claim for them any great degree of poetical merit, they must be considered curious as the only specimen of English versification known to have been attempted by a Hindoo prince, and are justly entitled to the far higher praise of presenting a testimony as graphical and

interesting, as it is affectionate and sincere, to the character and worth of his revered guardian and friend. CHAP. XXII.

Sacred to the Memory of

THE REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ,

MISSIONARY TO THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,

IN LONDON;

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON THE

13TH OF FEBRUARY, 1798,

AGED SEVENTY-ONE YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS.

Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise,
Father of orphans, the widow's support,
Comfort in sorrow of every sort.
To the benighted dispenser of light,
Doing, and pointing to, that which is right.
Blessing to princes, to people, to me;
May I, my father, be worthy of thee!
Wisheth and prayeth thy SARABOJEE.

From the time of his accession to the musnud, the kindness of the rajah to the Protestant missions was marked and unceasing. In June 1802 his highness was at Tranquebar, and honoured

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the senior of the Danish missionaries with a visit.

"A few days ago," writes the Rev. Mr. John, "the present king of Tanjore, who is now about twenty-five years old, paid us a visit at Tranquebar, accompanied by a numerous suite. I stood with my family near my house door, in order to see him pass. He was on horseback, and when he saw me, he dismounted, embraced me three times, and conversed with me in the street for several minutes. He promised to pay me a visit, which he did, and afterwards requested me to meet him in his tent, where he received me in the most friendly manner, and conversed with me for nearly two hours alone. We spoke in English, chiefly about his dear Father Swartz, as he called him. He expressly stated, that he held him in constant remembrance; and that his instructions and admonitions were often present to his mind. He added, that he was not unmindful of what I had so frequently told him at our interviews in Madras. He also expressed his unfeigned respect for Mr. Gericke and Mr. Kohlhoff, as well as for my fellow-labourers in this city, one of whom, Mr. Cœmmerer, he had already seen. 'I highly esteem them,' he said, 'because I find them men of the same mind and character as Mr. Swartz; and such men, I hope, will always be sent as missionaries to India.'"

The piety, it may be added, of Mr. Kohlhoff's mother, had recommended her to the rajah's attention, and had induced him to take her second son into his service as a writer.

This generous prince, a few years afterwards, gave a still more unequivocal and substantial proof of his affection and esteem for his late venerated friend, and one which would have been peculiarly gratifying to his benevolent mind. Having erected a very extensive and costly building, about sixteen miles from Tanjore, for the support of Brahmins, and of poor of every description, together with an institution for the maintenance and education of Hindoo children of different castes in various Oriental, and in the English, languages, "his tender regard," says Mr. Kohlhoff, "for the memory of the late Rev. Mr. Swartz, induced him also to establish in the adjacent village of Kanandagoodi, which is inhabited by a considerable number of Christians, a charitable institution for the education and support of fifty poor Christian children; thirty poor Christians are also maintained and clothed at the same munificent institution; and at a choultry near the Fort of Tanjore, fifty poor, lame, and blind, and other real objects of charity, all belonging to the mission, are entirely supported by his bounteous hand. He has likewise given orders that his

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Christian servants, civil and military, should not be denied by their officers liberty to attend divine service on Sundays and festivals, and that they should be excused from all other duty on such occasions." In the year 1826, Archdeacon Robinson, then accompanying the late lamented Bishop Heber, visited the different charitable establishments of the rajah just described, to which had been subsequently added two hospitals for the sick, and a beautiful bungalow for the accommodation of European travellers; when he was much pleased to see a large congregation of Christians assembled in the chapel at Kanandagoodi, "to whom," writes Mr. Kohlhoff, "after morning prayers, he gave a kind address, animating them to thankfulness to God for his great mercies shown to them."[1]

Such were some of the more prominent proofs given by this excellent Hindoo prince of the respect and affection which he entertained for the late venerable missionary, and which he evidently cherished and manifested upon every occasion during his whole life. When Dr. Buchanan was introduced to the rajah, as soon as the first ceremonial in the grand hall of audience was over,

[1] Bishop Heber's Journal, vol. i. p. 461, and Last Days of Bishop Heber, p. 200.

his highness led him up to the portrait of Swartz. CHAP. XXII.
"He then discoursed," says that generous friend of missions, "for a considerable time concerning 'that good man,' whom he ever revered as his father and guardian."

When, ten years afterwards, Bishop Middleton visited Tanjore, "his highness dwelt," observes the biographer of that eminent prelate, "with evident delight on the blessings which the heavenly lessons and virtues of Swartz had shed upon him and his people, and concluded by professing the warmest respect for those excellent men, Mr. Kohlhoff and his fellow-workers, who had succeeded to the labours of their venerable predecessor." The rajah afterwards selected a portrait of Swartz as the most acceptable memorial he could offer to the English bishop.

The account which Archdeacon Robinson has given[1] of the interview of Bishop Heber with this grateful prince, ten years after that of his learned predecessor, is equally honourable to the memory of the great and good missionary, and in a high degree interesting.

"The bishop," he writes, "paid a visit of ceremony to the rajah, accompanied by the resident, and attended by all the clergy. We were received in full durbar, in the great Mahratta hall,

[1] Last Days of Bishop Heber, p. 159.

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where the rajahs are enthroned. The scene was imposing, and, from the number of Christian clergymen in the court of a Hindoo prince, somewhat singular; the address and manners of his highness are, in a remarkable degree, dignified and pleasing. The bishop sat on his right, the resident next to his son on his left, and the rest of the party on each side in order. He talked much of 'his dear father,' Swartz, and three times told the bishop he hoped his lordship would resemble him, and stand in his room. Perhaps few things in the mouth of an Eastern prince, with whom compliment to the living is generally exaggerated, could show more strongly the sincerity of his affection for the friend he had lost. The openness of his gratitude and reverence for the Christian missionary in the midst of his Brahmins, and himself still constant in his own religion, is admirable; and if on some occasions it be a little too prominent, who would not pardon and even love a fault which is but the excess of a virtue?—'And John Kohlhoff,' said he, 'is a good man, a very good man; we are old schoolfellows.'—On the whole, much as we had heard of this celebrated person, we found our anticipations had not been raised too high. Much, doubtless, of the interest excited before we saw him, sprang from the hallowing and endearing associations with the name of Swartz, which in

heathen India, or the nations of Christendom, must ever be CHAP. XXII.

'*Magnum et venerabile nomen.*'"

It may, perhaps, appear extraordinary, that the Hindoo prince who had, during his youth, been under the tuition of the pious and zealous missionary, who was evidently so warmly attached to him, and for whose virtues he had so deep a reverence, should have continued during his whole life, and apparently with entire sincerity, a devoted adherent to the wretched idolatry of his country. Greatly as this must be lamented, both for his own sake and that of his people, it must be remembered, that the first twelve years of Serfojee's life were spent amidst the listless indolence and the childish amusements of the Zennanah, and that with the exception of the scattered hours during which he received the instructions of Swartz, and, when called to the throne, of occasional and chiefly official intercourse with him and other Europeans, his habits and associations were almost exclusively Hindoo, and consequently subversive of any more enlightened views, and any better impressions, which he might have derived from his Christian tutor. It has been suggested by Bishop Heber, that the good missionary might have been restrained by a feeling of honour from any direct

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endeavours to convert his distinguished pupil. Doubtless, he felt and acted with the most perfect good faith in all that concerned so responsible and delicate an office. But, to say nothing of the inconsistency of any such reservation with the known principles and invariable practice of so faithful and uncompromising a servant of his divine Master, no such restriction appears to have been imposed upon him by Tuljajee Rajah, with respect to the education of his adopted son; and it is evident from the preceding details of his intercourse with both the Hindoo princes, that he felt himself at liberty to exhort them to renounce their idolatry, and to worship the true God according to the revelation of the gospel; an affecting instance of which occurs in the last solemn interview between the younger of them and the dying missionary. Both were probably convinced of the folly of the native superstition, and impressed with the superior excellence of Christianity, as they perceived it attractively exemplified in their revered friend; but, as in too many instances in every age and country, whether under the form of false religion, or of indifference and unbelief, the pure and practical demands of the gospel were, as Tuljajee once ingenuously confessed, too directly opposed to the corrupt propensities of human nature to be readily complied with, while the sacrifice not merely of caste, but,

as they erroneously apprehended, of princely revenue and authority, and possibly even of life, was too formidable to be overcome by any thing short of that divine grace, which can, in spite of every opposing influence, "bring every thought into captivity to the dominion of Christ." Both these Eastern princes, therefore, contented with that sincere admiration and esteem of the faithful missionary, which induced them to show kindness for his sake to their converted subjects, for themselves, unhappily, turned aside from the heavenly vision, and were only "almost persuaded to be Christians."[1] Such appears to have been the

[1] While the second edition of these Memoirs was passing through the press, the author discovered, in a letter from Mr. Swartz to the Rev. Mr. Pasche, in September, 1775, the following remarkable reference to the apparent conviction of Tuljajee Rajah, at that period, as to the truth of the Gospel.

"There is at present," he says, "here in Sirengam a Brahmin, who, being exhorted to become a Christian, related the interesting fact, that the king of Tanjore had at one time felt a strong desire to adopt the Christian faith, and assembled all the chief ministers and officers of his court for the express purpose of submitting to them a proposition to this effect—but that they had all united in remonstrating against it; stating, that all his ancestors had served their long-established gods, and had prospered. 'He should, therefore,' they added, 'utterly renounce any idea or intention of this sort.'

"No wonder," continues Mr. Swartz, "that a scheme thus pursued should meet with a complete failure. It deserves notice, that all the king's official advisers on this occasion are

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truth, with respect more particularly to Serfojee Rajah; the intelligence of whose unexpected decease, in the course of the last year, only serves to awaken, with increased interest, the regret it is impossible not to feel, that the pupil and friend of Swartz should have lived and died a stranger to the exalted hopes and consolations of the gospel. May the successor of this amiable prince, trained, as he has been in hereditary respect for Christian missionaries, and partly under the care of the excellent Kohlhoff, by the grace of God, advance beyond his two immediate predecessors, in the acknowledgment of revealed truth; or if this be, as yet, too sanguine a hope, may he, at least, tread in their steps, and continue, like them, the protector and friend of Christians.[1]

either immured in prisons, or wander about in the country as vagabonds and beggars."

[1] Early in 1835, the author had the honour of receiving, through the kindness of Colonel Blackburne, a letter from this young prince, now the reigning rajah of Tanjore, in reply to one accompanying the present of a copy of the first edition of these Memoirs. It is peculiarly gratifying to him, not only as affording a powerful and unequivocal testimony to the truth and accuracy of his representations, but as evincing feelings of grateful respect and attachment towards the memory of the venerable friend and guardian of his late father, which cannot but be deemed highly honourable to his own character, as well as hopeful with regard to the interests of Christianity in Tanjore. It is as follows:—

In his interview with Bishop Middleton, the late rajah of Tanjore avowed his very natural feeling of exultation in having been the first to do honour to the character of Swartz, by giving orders for a monument to be erected to his memory. The Directors of the East India Company were equally anxious to mark the high sense which they entertained of his personal and public worth, by sending out another monument to Madras. The following is an extract of a general letter from the Court to the government of Fort St. George, dated October 29th, 1807.

"By our extra ship, the Union, you will receive, in four packing cases, a marble monument,

"REVEREND SIR,

"I had the pleasure to receive, in due time, your letter of the 20th January, 1834, together with your valuable present of a Memoir, in two volumes, of the Reverend Father Swartz; and most heartily thank you for the same.

"Though indeed a faithful and detailed narrative of the life of that apostolic missionary must prove highly interesting to the public at large; yet I beg to assure you, that you could not have selected a person who would have received such a present from you with a greater avidity than I have done. My perusal of this work has awakened many a most grateful recollection of incidents which my respected father was in the habit of reciting most enthusiastically, as indubitable instances of the disinterested affection that the venerable Mr. Swartz had entertained, and on several occasions manifested towards him, as well as of his pious and philanthropic exertions for the moral improvement of his fellow-creatures, whether natives or Euro-

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which has been executed by Mr. Bacon, under our directions, to the memory of the Rev. Christian Frederic Swartz, as the most appropriate testimony of the deep sense we entertain of his transcendent merit, of his unwearied and disinterested labours in the cause of religion and piety, and the exercise of the purest and most exalted benevolence; also of his public services at Tanjore, where the influence of his name and character, through the unbounded confidence and veneration which they inspired, was for a long course of years productive of important benefits to the Company.

"On no subject has the Court of Directors

peans. His virtues and qualifications either as a clergyman or a politician, exercised at a time when there existed very little encouragement, must ever remain objects of emulation to rising generations.

"Captain Baker, the late commandant of the resident's escort at Tanjore, was, at his own request, furnished by me with copies of a few letters of the Reverend Mr. Swartz to my father,[1] in order to be sent to a friend of his, who, he mentioned, was preparing his memoir. As I think they were required for you, I regret that they have not reached you in time to be available; but you have spared no labour to make your work as complete as could be wished for.

"I remain, Reverend Sir,

"Yours most sincerely,

"SEEVAJEE RAJAH.

"Tanjore, 20th August, 1834."

[1] These are probably the letters inserted in this edition. See p. 289.

been more unanimous, than in their anxious desire to perpetuate the memory of this eminent person, and to excite in others an emulation of his great example. We accordingly direct, that the monument be erected in some conspicuous situation near the altar, in the church of St. Mary, in Fort St. George, and that you adopt, in conjunction and with the assistance of the Rev. Dr. Kerr, the senior chaplain at your presidency, any other measures that your judgment shall suggest, as likely to give effect to these our intentions, and to render them impressive on the minds of the public at your settlement. As one of the most efficacious, we would recommend that, on the first Sunday after the erection of the monument, a discourse adapted to the occasion be delivered by the senior chaplain. We desire also that the native inhabitants, by whom Mr. Swartz was so justly revered, may be permitted and encouraged to view the monument, after that it shall have been erected, and that translations be made of the inscription into the country languages, and published at Madras, and copies sent to Tanjore, and the other districts in which Mr. Swartz occasionally resided, and established seminaries for religious instruction.

"We were much gratified by learning that his excellency the rajah of Tanjore had also been desirous of erecting a monument to the memory

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of Mr. Swartz, in the church which was built by Mr. Swartz himself in the inner fort of that capital, and had sent directions accordingly to this country, in consequence of which a monument has been executed by Mr. Flaxman. We shall give directions for its being received on board one of our ships, free of freight, and we desire that you will afford every facility towards its conveyance to Tanjore."

In the monument thus sent out to Madras by the Directors of the East India Company, the eminent artist, who, from his well-known character as a sincere Christian, doubtless executed it with feelings of peculiar gratification, thought proper, as Flaxman had also done, to describe the closing scene in the life of the apostolic missionary.

The principal compartment of the monument is occupied with an alto-relievo, representing Swartz surrounded by a group of his orphan pupils, to whom he afforded an asylum in his house, and by several of his fellow-labourers, who attended him in his last moments. One of the children is embracing his dying hand, and one of the missionaries is supporting his head; but the eyes of the departing saint are directed, and his hand is raised, towards an object in the upper part of the bas-relief, namely, the cross, which is borne by a descending angel; implying, that the death of

Christ, the grand subject of his ministry, was now the chief support of his soul. CHAP. XXII.

Over the bas-relief is the ark of the covenant, which was peculiarly the charge of the priests, and was a striking emblem of the constant theme of his preaching.

Under the bas-relief are further emblems of the pastoral office—the crosier, the gospel trumpet, with the banner of the cross attached to it, and an open bible, on which is inscribed our Lord's commission to his apostles, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

On this splendid and appropriate monument, the following elaborate inscription is engraved.

Sacred to the Memory of

THE REV. CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ,

WHOSE LIFE WAS ONE CONTINUED EFFORT TO IMITATE THE EXAMPLE OF HIS BLESSED MASTER.

EMPLOYED AS A PROTESTANT MISSIONARY FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF DENMARK,

AND IN THE SAME CHARACTER BY THE SOCIETY IN ENGLAND FOR THE PROMOTION OF CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,

HE, DURING A PERIOD OF FIFTY YEARS, "WENT ABOUT DOING GOOD,"

MANIFESTING, IN RESPECT TO HIMSELF, THE MOST ENTIRE ABSTRACTION FROM TEMPORAL VIEWS,

BUT EMBRACING EVERY OPPORTUNITY OF PROMOTING BOTH THE TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL WELFARE OF OTHERS.

IN HIM RELIGION APPEARED NOT WITH A GLOOMY ASPECT OR FORBIDDING MIEN,

BUT WITH A GRACEFUL FORM AND PLACID DIGNITY.

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AMONG THE MANY FRUITS OF HIS INDEFATIGABLE LABOURS WAS THE

ERECTION OF THE CHURCH AT TANJORE.

THE SAVINGS FROM A SMALL SALARY WERE, FOR MANY YEARS, DEVOTED TO THIS PIOUS WORK, AND THE REMAINDER OF THE EXPENSE SUPPLIED BY INDIVIDUALS AT HIS SOLICITATION.

THE CHRISTIAN SEMINARIES AT RAMANADPORAM AND IN THE TINNEVELLY PROVINCE WERE ESTABLISHED BY HIM.

BELOVED AND HONOURED BY EUROPEANS,

HE WAS, IF POSSIBLE, HELD IN STILL DEEPER REVERENCE BY THE NATIVES OF THIS COUNTRY, OF EVERY DEGREE AND EVERY SECT; AND THEIR UNBOUNDED CONFIDENCE IN HIS INTEGRITY AND TRUTH, WAS, ON MANY OCCASIONS,

RENDERED HIGHLY BENEFICIAL IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

THE POOR AND THE INJURED

LOOKED UP TO HIM AS AN UNFAILING FRIEND AND ADVOCATE;

THE GREAT AND POWERFUL

CONCURRED IN YIELDING HIM THE HIGHEST HOMAGE EVER PAID IN THIS QUARTER OF THE GLOBE TO EUROPEAN VIRTUE.

THE LATE HYDER ALLY CAWN,

IN THE MIDST OF A BLOODY AND VINDICTIVE WAR WITH THE CARNATIC, SENT ORDERS TO HIS OFFICERS

"TO PERMIT THE VENERABLE FATHER SWARTZ TO PASS UNMOLESTED, AND SHOW HIM RESPECT AND KINDNESS, FOR HE IS A HOLY MAN, AND MEANS NO HARM TO MY GOVERNMENT."

THE LATE TULJAJEE RAJAH OF TANJORE,

WHEN ON HIS DEATH-BED, DESIRED TO ENTRUST TO HIS PROTECTING CARE HIS ADOPTED SON, SERFOJEE, THE PRESENT RAJAH, WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OF ALL THE AFFAIRS OF HIS COUNTRY.

ON A SPOT OF GROUND, GRANTED TO HIM BY THE SAME PRINCE, TWO MILES EAST OF TANJORE,

HE BUILT A HOUSE FOR HIS RESIDENCE, AND MADE IT AN ORPHAN ASYLUM.

HERE THE LAST TWENTY YEARS OF HIS LIFE WERE SPENT IN THE EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN,
PARTICULARLY THOSE OF INDIGENT PARENTS, WHOM HE GRATUITOUSLY MAINTAINED AND INSTRUCTED;
AND HERE, ON THE 13TH OF FEBRUARY, 1798,
SURROUNDED BY HIS INFANT FLOCK, AND IN THE PRESENCE OF SEVERAL OF HIS DISCONSOLATE BRETHREN,
ENTREATING THEM TO CONTINUE TO MAKE RELIGION THE FIRST OBJECT OF THEIR CARE,
AND IMPLORING WITH HIS LAST BREATH THE DIVINE BLESSING ON THEIR LABOURS,
HE CLOSED HIS TRULY CHRISTIAN CAREER IN THE 72ND YEAR OF HIS AGE.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,
ANXIOUS TO PERPETUATE THE MEMORY OF SUCH TRANSCENDENT WORTH,
AND GRATEFULLY SENSIBLE OF THE PUBLIC BENEFITS WHICH RESULTED FROM HIS INFLUENCE,
CAUSED THIS MONUMENT TO BE ERECTED
ANN. DOM. 1807.

The Madras government cordially responded to the wishes and intentions of the Directors, by the following order.

"Public Department.

"*To the Rev. Dr. Kerr, Senior Chaplain at Fort St. George.*

"REVEREND SIR;

"I am directed by the right honourable the Governor in council,[1] to enclose, for your information, the extract of a late letter from the

[1] Lord William Bentinck, now governor-general of India.

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honourable Court of Directors, and to inform you of the wish of his lordship in council, that early measures may be taken for erecting in St. Mary's church the monument which has been transmitted to this place by the honourable Court, as a tribute of respect for the memory of the late Rev. Mr. Swartz.

"His lordship in council directs me also to express his confidence that your endeavour will be exerted to give every practical effect to the farther suggestions of the honourable Court, with regard to the best means of conveying an adequate impression of the exalted worth of that revered character, and his lordship will be prepared to give every facility to the measures which you may propose on this subject.

"Directions will be given to the Board of Trade for holding the monument in readiness to be delivered on your application.

"I have the honour to be,
"Reverend Sir,
"Your most obedient humble Servant,
"G. BUCHAN,
"Chief Secretary to Government."

Fort St. George, June 16th, 1807.

The pious and excellent person to whom the preceding directions were addressed, was anxious to do justice to the laudable resolutions of the

East India Directors and of the Madras government, to honour the memory of the late venerable missionary. For the purpose of obtaining correct information, Dr. Kerr corresponded with his surviving brethren at Tanjore; and, in the following extracts from the discourse which he preached and printed on this interesting occasion, he may be considered not only as speaking with the full approbation of the East Indian government, but as appealing, on the spot, to those who were themselves witnesses of the truth of his assertions. CHAP. XXII.

"The man," observes this truly Christian preacher, "who follows the injunctions of his Saviour, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,'—whose soul is devoted to this one object, who submits to a thousand privations in the discharge of his high calling, who devotes mind and body to the eternal interests of benighted nations, who is exposed to numberless dangers in the course of his journeyings, yet goes on rejoicing to the end;—such a man is surely deserving of our high esteem, and has the strongest claim on the benevolent feelings of all mankind.

"There is a grandeur in the self-dedication of a human being to such an undertaking, which is not to be discerned in the other pursuits of life. Worldly ambition has her splendid votaries, seeking honour in the midst of danger, and in the face

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of death. In search of the wealth of this world, we have millions of examples of the most hardy enterprises undertaken, and body and soul are daily sacrificed to this object; but in the persevering effort to call the heathen from their debasing superstitions to the worship of the true God, through Jesus Christ; in the constant endeavour to extend the blessings of civilization, which always accompany the true religion, to a people whom the darkest clouds of ignorance and its thousands of ills overshadow; to labour to emancipate the souls of men from the thraldom of satanic influence, from priestcraft, and from idle or vicious ceremonies—ceremonies calculated to impose on the understanding, and to destroy the finest feelings of the heart; to be employed, I say, in such pursuits, to follow them up with honest zeal, with firm faith in the divine assistance, and the power of the gospel, must be acknowledged, whether we consider the motives which stimulate, or the object in view, to be the most glorious, the most honourable of all undertakings.

"When, therefore, we reflect, that such was the office of the man whose virtues we are this day called to celebrate; when we know that he was peculiarly distinguished in the course of this high office; that by the mere effect of Christian virtue, he attracted the love and secured the con-

fidence, not only of the flock which he had called from pagan darkness, and illumined with the blessed light of the gospel, but that he was reverenced far and near by all castes and descriptions of people; that he was even respected by the enemies of our nation, and at the commencement of a bloody war was permitted to preach the doctrines of peace on the very battlements of our enemy; when we reflect on these things, what reverence does it inspire for the man! What a signal testimony does it afford of the power of gospel truth, strikingly evidenced in the faithful practice of a gospel life! And what a convincing proof does it present of the great benefit to be derived from the labours of missionaries, well-directed, and honestly and zealously prosecuted!

"It is much to be regretted, that the extraordinary humility of this most excellent man, ever averse to display of every kind, has been the virtuous cause why we are not in possession of sufficient materials to give a succinct account of the various and important labours in which he was continually engaged.

"Indeed, his mind was so impressed with the just sense of the value of his time, and the necessity for unceasing application in his calling, that he had little leisure for even giving those details which were expected from him by the societies under whose direction he had entered upon his

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missionary labours, and they were often indebted to others for information regarding the important services of their faithful Swartz."

After briefly mentioning the commencement of his career in India, his success in the conversion of many of the natives, and in exciting a spirit of inquiry among the Brahmins, his establishment of schools, and his various benevolent and charitable labours, Dr. Kerr thus proceeds :—

"Such a course of life, zealously pursued for a long series of years, and accompanied with that sweetly social disposition for which he was remarkable, gained him many friends, and thousands of admirers. The blessing of the fatherless and widow came upon him, and his hope was gladness. He rejoiced evermore in witnessing the divine effects of his honest endeavours; and, if he did not make converts of all with whom he associated, he seldom failed to make friends of those with whom he happened to communicate. Not that he ever compromised a paramount duty from any false politeness, or deference to superior station; for he decidedly and openly declared the condemnation of all who boldly and openly set gospel rules at defiance, as often as an opportunity for the purpose occurred. His reproof, however, was tempered with so much good-nature; the desire of doing good to the offenders was so obviously his intention; that he seldom provoked the

smallest ill-will by the strong but fatherly remonstrances, which irreligious conversation and conduct frequently drew from him. Indeed, he seemed peculiarly gifted by divine Providence with a happy manner, which enabled him to turn almost every occurrence, whether great or trivial, to the praise and glory of God.

"Sensible that no trifling efforts could be productive of any good purpose in the missionary cause in any country, but most particularly in India, he determined that nothing should draw him aside, either to the right hand or to the left. With this view," as it has been already observed, "he early resolved on a life of celibacy. With the same view, he accustomed himself to the most frugal and temperate system of diet; for many years of his life being accustomed to give ten pagodas[1] at the beginning of each month to his servant, to provide for the expenses of his table, and giving himself no trouble as to the manner in which it was supplied; and, except when objects of charity reminded him of his poverty, he considered the wealth of this world as the dust of the earth."

Dr. Kerr next refers to Swartz's celebrated mission to Hyder Ali, the death-bed scene of Tuljajee Rajah, his influence with the natives,

[1] About £4 sterling. The reader will remember Mr. Chambers' account of his early simplicity and self-denial.

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and other remarkable illustrations of his character, which are recorded in the preceding pages. He then continues :—

"Amidst such great public undertakings, and the high degree of consideration attached by all ranks of people in this country to Mr. Swartz's character, every road to the gratification of ambition and avarice was completely open before him. Courted by the prince of the country in which he resided; reverenced almost to adoration by the people at large; confidentially employed by the English government in objects of the first political importance, to his great honour it must be recorded, that he continued to value these things only as they appeared likely to prove subservient to his missionary work, as they made friends to assist him in the building of his churches, or the establishment of his schools over the country. With the single eye of the gospel, he looked only to the diffusion of divine truth, and the glad tidings of salvation through faith in Christ Jesus. The same principles which raised him in the public estimation, he continued to cherish in every stage of his elevation. Uncontaminated by the venality and corruption which, from various quarters, it is well known assailed his virtue, he continued his missionary life, carrying his cross, and following the steps of his divine Master to the end of his earthly being."

Such was the testimony borne by this zealous chaplain of the East India Company to the various and exalted excellencies of the revered and lamented missionary, in the presence of the governor and council and principal inhabitants of Madras, assembled in the presidency church, on the solemn, yet gratifying, occasion of introducing to public notice the monument thus munificently erected to his memory. It may be doubted whether any equal or similar honour was ever paid to so humble, though eminent an individual, shrinking, as he invariably did, with the most genuine and unaffected modesty, from all public acknowledgment of his services, and anxious only, as he was in all that he achieved, to ascribe the glory to Him to whom alone all glory is due. This just and spontaneous tribute to his virtues was equally honourable to Swartz, and to the distinguished persons by whom it was so wisely and liberally offered; and is at once a proof of his extraordinary merit, and of the sure and signal reward which awaits such a life as his, even in the present world.

One other document remains to be added, in illustration of the character of this devoted missionary, and that is his last will with respect to the disposal of his temporal property: and it will be found, as might justly be expected, beautifully

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corresponding with the disinterested and truly Christian tenor of his life. It is as follows:—

"In the name of God.

"Into thine hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, thou faithful God! Wherein I have sinned, (and I have often and greatly sinned against thee,) forgive it graciously for the sake of the reconciliation-sacrifice of Christ Jesus my Lord, and let me find mercy. Grant me, for Christ's sake, a blessed departure out of this sorrowful, and a blessed entrance into that joyful, life. Amen.

"As I know not how soon God may call me hence, I therefore make this my last will in the presence of God, and with full deliberation.

"As the house in the greater fort, as well as that in the little fort, together with the church, and certain houses in the garden without the fort, were erected out of the money which was assigned me monthly by the Company, so I look on them, as I ever have regarded them, namely, to be the houses of the mission.

"All moveables and books shall be assigned over to my successors for the good of the mission, to be all used as long as they are serviceable, and not to be sold.

"As I have not spent my monthly salary from

the Company, but (except what I have devoted to the erection of several buildings) have suffered it to accumulate, and assigned it over to my two trustees, namely, my beloved brother, Mr. Gericke, and my friend, Mr. Breithaupt, of Madras, so such sum shall also be employed for the benefit of the mission; but in such manner that my successor here at Tanjore, and the missionary who shall carry on the work of God for the conversion of the heathen at Palamcotta, shall receive for themselves the annual interest of one hundred pounds sterling, (that is to say, fifty pounds each,) because the fifty pounds, which they each receive yearly of the honourable Company, is barely sufficient. Should they, however, receive of the Company a monthly augmentation, then they have no right to receive also the fifty pounds bequeathed by me. This is in that case to fall into the mission or the poor chest.

"It is hereby my earnest desire, that those missionaries who take upon themselves the work of God in Tanjore and Palamcotta, should employ the interest which remains to assist and help themselves, as they find it necessary. Perhaps the Tanjore mission may employ two thirds, and that at Palamcotta one third of the interest, for the use of the schools and churches.

"As my relations have no claim on what I devise and have set apart to the mission; there-

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fore I bequeath to them one hundred star pagodas, as a testimony of my affection, which the children of my sister are to divide among themselves in equal portions.

"The two gold watches that have been given me, shall be sold, and the money be distributed to the poor.

"As a token of my affection, I bequeath to Joseph, my former servant, thirty star pagodas.

"With respect to the garden without the fort, belonging to the mission, I wish that, if possible, the gardener may be supported out of the income. What remains over, can, without further reckoning, fall to the missionaries, and the school-children.

"The few utensils of silver which I possess, I leave to Mr. Kohlhoff, as a token of my hearty love.

"As my former servant Joseph, on account of his ill conduct, ought not to receive the thirty star pagodas destined for him, I bequeath them to the servant who shall be in my service at the time of my death, provided he behave himself tolerably well.

"CHRISTIAN FREDERIC SWARTZ.

"Subscribed and sealed in the presence of

"JOSEPH DANIEL JŒNICKE,

"J. C. KOHLHOFF."

The principal features of this interesting document, containing the record of the venerable missionary's latest earthly views and feelings, are in perfect unison with all that preceded it. Piety, humility, simplicity, mark its spiritual expressions; the purest principles, and Christian charity of the most enlarged and exalted nature, dictated the rest. What the frugality and self-denial of nearly half a century had enabled him to accumulate, after all that he had in the course of that long period expended upon similar purposes, was devoted to the promotion of the sacred work to which his life had been so uniformly and so successfully dedicated. "The cause of Christ," as he intimated on his death-bed, "was his heir."

Upon the subject of this final bequest, Mr. Gerické, a few months after the death of his revered friend, communicated the following particulars to Professor Schultz.

"His temporal property he had already, many years before his death, made over to the mission at Tanjore and Palamcotta, and the congregations and institutions belonging to them; and for that purpose appointed me as trustee, and I had joined Mr. Breithaupt with myself, in the deed. He therefore, in his will, mentions no executor, that it might thereby be known, that the whole was already the property of the mission, and no longer belonged to Mr. Swartz. As he received an

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allowance from government, from which he was enabled to defray all the expenses incurred at Tanjore and Palamcotta, he allowed the interest, and often his salary likewise, to fall into the mission capital. No one will therefore wonder that he should have been able to accomplish so much towards the outward support of the mission."

The fund thus generously provided for the mission at Tanjore, and its branch in Tinnevelly, by their revered benefactor, amounted to between eight and ten thousand pounds sterling; a sum which, combined with the allowances from the British government, from the rajah of Tanjore, and from other sources, was sufficient during many years to support the charities, and to defray the ordinary expenditure of the mission; and though a part of it was afterwards sunk by the imprudence of a missionary long since departed, it still continues to contribute towards those Christian and important objects, and to form a lasting memorial of the disinterested zeal and love of its pious and munificent founder.[1]

[1] Much surprise has been expressed by several readers of these Memoirs, at the amount of the property left by Mr. Swartz; some being at a loss to account for the accumulation of so large a sum, and others considering it almost as an indication, on the part of the venerable missionary, of some latent and unconscious love of money. To the first class of readers the author would reply, that independently of the personal economy and self-denial of Mr. Swartz, which rendered a considerable proportion of his income available towards his mis-

sion fund, great numbers of the civil and military servants of the Company were in the habit of entrusting charitable donations to his distribution and management; and that he was accustomed to place such of these sums as were not required for immediate use at the high rate of interest, (twelve, or more per cent.,) usual at that period. The accumulation from these various sources, it will readily be imagined, must in the course of nearly half a century have amounted to a very considerable sum.

With respect to the fact of the accumulation itself, the author deems it unnecessary, after the repeated testimonies, native and European, in the preceding Memoirs, to the perfect and eminent disinterestedness of Mr. Swartz, to vindicate his character from the slightest imputation of an undue regard to money. The fund which he left behind him was the simple result of a wise and provident anxiety for the permanent support of his mission. He had lived to see the establishment at Tranquebar declining for want of pecuniary resources; and, in point of fact, the provision which he so prudently, as well as liberally, made for that at Tanjore and its dependencies, was the providential means of its continuance and efficiency till the revival, some years afterwards, of a more zealous missionary spirit in England, and the establishment of episcopacy in India.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Review of the Character of Swartz.

CHAP. XXIII. THE character and life of Swartz have now been developed in all their bearings and relations; and it is confidently hoped, that the judgment universally formed of his unrivalled excellence as a Christian missionary, and the high estimation in which he has been so long and so deservedly held both in India and in Europe, will not only be confirmed, but strengthened and enhanced, by the more complete view comprised in the preceding memoirs of his principles, sentiments, and conduct. Substantially, there has never been but one opinion respecting this extraordinary man; but though all who take an interest in the promotion of Christianity in India have thus concurred in ascribing to him the pre-eminence in this sacred and important work, the impression has been, for the most part, general and undefined, rather than the result of clear and enlarged apprehensions of his character and course. These

illustrated as they have been by many public documents, and by a series of private and confidential communications, have now, it is trusted, been fully and satisfactorily displayed. Briefly, therefore, to review the holy and beneficent career of this "man of God," and to point out, more especially to those who may be engaged in similar Christian labours, the force and efficacy of his example, will form no unsuitable or unprofitable sequel to this record of his admirable life.

Piety of no ordinary depth and energy formed the basis of his character. Unmarked by the terror and alarm which have sometimes led to peculiarly zealous and self-denying labours in the cause of religion, its origin and nature were calm and gentle as the "still small voice" which opened the heart of Mary and of Lydia to the reception of divine truth, yet not less powerful and efficacious than that which penetrated and subdued the persecuting Saul of Tarsus to the faith and obedience of the gospel. The mind of Swartz was at a very early period of his history deeply and permanently impressed with the ineffable love of God in the work of man's redemption. The great "mystery of godliness,"—"God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself," not sparing "his own Son," but delivering him up to death for us all, to "the death of the cross"—

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this miracle of mercy, this astonishing proof of divine love, this wonderful and effectual provision for human guilt and misery, brought home to his heart by the powerful influence of divine grace, humbling, consoling, purifying, elevating him, took possession of his soul, absorbed every opposing and every secular thought, and excited in him, as in the converted apostle, that one simple, predominating, inextinguishable inquiry, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"

It is impossible to peruse the letters of Swartz, even from the commencement of his course, without perceiving that the very essence of his religion was this heartfelt impression of the grace of God in Christ Jesus, the cordial acceptance of that message of reconciliation which he was commissioned to announce to others, and which was to himself, from the hour in which he first received it "in truth" to the last moment of his existence, the source of inward peace, the principle of ardent gratitude and love, and the motive to self-denying and devoted, yet spontaneous and delightful obedience. Though few, perhaps, could have less to deplore as to any positive and wilful deviations from the path of moral rectitude and virtue, few of those who have been conscious that they had "much to be forgiven," have evinced a more broken and contrite spirit, or have "loved more," than the humble and gratefully devoted subject of these memoirs.

Humility, springing, as it did in Swartz, from a deep conviction of the depravity of human nature, and of his own immeasurable distance, even after his highest attainments, from the demands of the perfect law of God, was, indeed, one of the distinguishing features of his character, as it was the foundation of his security amidst many surrounding dangers, and one of the most efficient causes of his excellence and his happiness. He was "clothed with humility."

Combined with this peculiarly Christian principle, was that singular and transparent simplicity, which so powerfully recommended him to men of every rank and every religion, and which was the grand secret of his unparalleled influence and success. Under any circumstances, Swartz would have been a man of integrity, and of frank and open manners; but it was his piety which produced in him that "freedom from guile," of which the Hebrew psalmist speaks, and which was characteristic of the Saviour himself, and of one of his earliest disciples, and that "simplicity and godly sincerity" which St. Paul declares was one of the sources of his own elevated joy. To him, as to that holy apostle, "to live was Christ." Separate from the attainment of his personal salvation, and from the daily and hourly endeavour to promote that of others, from the exhibition of Christian doctrine and the exemplification

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of Christian precepts, from the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom, and the pursuit of his glory, he had no object, no happiness, no desire. Never did any uninspired man discover more perfect simplicity of purpose, and more patient and persevering labour in accomplishing it. Except, therefore, as connected with the one grand business of his life, all persons, places, and circumstances, were to him comparatively indifferent. To him, mere worldly pleasure presented no charms, the opportunity of gain no temptation, the pursuits of ambition no attraction. To all such allurements he was habitually and invariably insensible. He passed unhurt amidst them all: and attained, as we have already seen, the rare distinction of the most unequivocal testimonies to his possession of the purest and most disinterested virtue. Can we wonder, that one so pious, humble, upright, and sincere, should excite the veneration, and conciliate the confidence of all around him; that Hindoo princes, observant and acute, should cultivate his friendship, invite his counsel, and invoke his protection; that Mahomedan tyrants, subtle and suspicious, should respect his integrity and accept his mediation; that European governors and officers, civil and military, should entrust to him the most important concerns, and co-operate with him in all his plans; that by the great body

of the people of every class, he should be revered, idolized, and obeyed?

"The late Mr. Swartz," says Mr. Pæzold, "was a man not only endowed with great natural abilities; but also possessed of extraordinary courage and intrepidity of mind. He was adorned with the strictest integrity, and the most genuine piety and unshaken confidence in God. In respect to the cause of missions in our part of the world, he might be justly styled a second Luther. For nearly fifty years he served his divine Master in the barren fields of the heathen world, labouring with indefatigable zeal, cheerfully bearing the burden and heat of the day, and not unfrequently exposing himself to the terrors and dangers of the night. He was the benefactor, friend, provider, and father of thousands of the destitute and forlorn, both among Christians and heathen, in days of prosperity and adversity, in seasons of war and in times of peace. He was honoured by all who knew him. All the pecuniary grants made to him by government in grateful acknowledgment of important services most cheerfully and generously rendered by him, were never employed for any selfish purposes, but freely consecrated to the glory of God, for the benefit of the missionary cause, and for the relief of the poor and needy."[1]

[1] Since the first publication of these Memoirs, the author has met with a splendid instance of Mr. Swartz's disinterestedness

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"Of Swartz," said Bishop Heber,[1] "and his fifty years labour among the heathen, the extraordinary influence and popularity which he acquired, both with Mussulmans, Hindoos, and contending European governments, I need give you no account, except that my idea of him has been raised since I came into the south of India. I used to suspect, that, with many admirable qualities, there was too great a mixture of intrigue in his character; that he was too much of a political prophet, and that the veneration which the heathen paid and still pay him, and which indeed almost regards him as a superior being, putting crowns and burning lights before his statue, was purchased by some unwarrantable compromise with their prejudices. I find I was quite mistaken. He was really one of the most active and fearless, as he was one of the most successful missionaries, who have appeared since the apostles. To say that he was disinterested in regard to money, is nothing; he was perfectly regardless of power, and renown never seemed to

and charity, so early as the year 1764, when he generously devoted the sum of nine hundred pagodas, which had been presented to him by the nabob of the Carnatic, as an acknowledgment of his valuable services during the siege of Madura, (vol. i. p. 155,) to the use of the mission at Trichinopoly, where he was then residing, and the support of orphan children of English soldiers who had fallen in that contest.

[1] Journal, vol. ii. p. 461.

affect him, even so far as to induce an outward show of humility. His temper was perfectly simple, open, and cheerful; and in his political negotiations, (employments which he never sought for, but which fell in his way,) he never pretended to impartiality, but acted as the avowed, though certainly the successful and judicious agent of the orphan prince entrusted to his care, and from attempting whose conversion to Christianity he seems to have abstained from a feeling of honour.[1] His other converts were between six and seven thousand, besides those which his predecessors and companions in the cause had brought over." CHAP. XXIII.

Such was the testimony of Bishop Heber, when writing from Trichinopoly, immediately after his most interesting and memorable visit to Tanjore, and within three days of his own unexpected and lamented removal from the world. There he had witnessed with almost overwhelming delight the success of Swartz's labours, and had pronounced the episcopal blessing in their own language upon more than thirteen hundred native Christians, assembled in one of his mission churches; and there, while standing on the grave of that apostolic man, he addressed both the missionaries and the people in a solemn and affecting charge, the deep impression of which can never, surely, be effaced

[1] For the correction of this misapprehension, see p. 403 of this volume.

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from their remembrance, commending them to God, and to the word of his grace, and animating them by the memory of their departed father, to Christian union and order, and perseverance in the faith of the gospel.

"We leave Tanjore," says Archdeacon Robinson,[1] "with the sincerest regret, and with the strongest interest in a spot so favoured and so full of promise. The bishop has more than once observed to me, that instead of the usual danger of exaggerated reports, and the expression of too sanguine hopes, the fault here was, that enough had not been said," though the excellent Buchanan had twenty years before described, in the most glowing language, the same gratifying scene, and had uttered the same sentiments, "and repeats his conviction that the strength of the Christian cause in India is in these missions, and that it will be a grievous and heavy sin, if England and the agents of its bounty do not nourish and protect the churches here founded. He has seen the other parts of India and Ceylon, and he has rejoiced in the prospects opened of the extension of Christ's kingdom in many distant places, and by many different instruments; but he has seen nothing like the missions of the South—for these are the fields most ripe for the harvest."

Of the origin and progress of these flourishing

[1] The Last Days of Bishop Heber, p. 176.

and important missions, of the zeal and diligence, the self-denying and disinterested, the patient and unwearied labours of their venerable founder, the preceding pages abundantly testify. "I can bear witness," says one of his most valued, and one of his very few surviving friends,[1] "to the truth of the anecdotes which have been already published relative to Mr. Swartz. His indefatigable zeal in propagating the Christian religion has never been surpassed. Whenever he travelled and rested at a village for his palankeen bearers to refresh themselves, the natives collected around him, listened to him with the greatest attention, and paid him the utmost respect. His cheerful countenance and pleasing manner impressed them with an earnest desire to hear him."

> For, letting down the golden chain from high,
> He drew his audience upward to the sky.

The zeal of Swartz was untinctured by fanaticism, and undebased by extravagance, eccentricity, intolerance, or harshness, whether of spirit or expression. It was a mild, pure, and steady flame, which did not astonish, much less alarm, by any sudden, violent, or fitful blaze, but, like "the Sun of righteousness," or "the day-spring from on high," by whose rays it was kindled, and by whose influence it was nourished and preserved, it enlightened, healed, and cherished those who

[1] W. Duffin, Esq. of York.

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were disposed to follow it, and "guided their feet into the way of peace."

"In all his intercourse," said one of his colleagues, "with the idolatrous natives, or with the Roman Catholics, his great aim was to convince them of the corruption of their hearts, and to direct them to Christ as their only refuge. He earnestly admonished them to seek reconciliation with God in the days of health, since they were so constantly exposed to the attacks of death."

If, as the messenger of the Lord of hosts, "the law of truth was in his mouth," as the minister of the Prince of peace, the law of kindness which was in his heart prompted him upon every occasion to "speak the truth in love." Though "his spirit," like that of the apostle, "was stirred within him" while he beheld the surrounding idolatry, he inveighed not against it in terms of bitterness and reproach, but testified against its guilt and folly, "even weeping," and invited its wretched votaries, in the tender language of the parable of the prodigal son, to arise and return to their heavenly Father. Calm and dispassionate, he detected the sophistry of the Brahmin, and refuted the cavils of the Mahomedan, by that perfect acquaintance with the doctrines and errors of both, which he had happily acquired by the labour and the study of his early years,[1] and

[1] See vol. i. p. 164.

feared not, in the presence of princes and governors, to enforce the principles and precepts of the gospel in all their genuine simplicity and truth. CHAP. XXIII.

The only tract in Tamul, which he ever published, is still extensively circulated in the south of India, and in Ceylon; and "when we read," says one of the native catechists in Tinnevelly, "our late father Swartz's dialogues between a Christian and a heathen, we are constrained to say, that he still lives to teach the present, yea, succeeding generations."

The preaching, however, and the instruction of Swartz, were not, as we have already seen, "with excellency of speech," or of man's "wisdom." He determined, like the great apostle, "to know nothing," whether among Hindoos or Europeans, "save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." This divine and all-important topic, not stated barely or abstractedly as a point of doctrine, but displayed in all its causes, connexions and consequences, as the remedy for the guilt and the prevalence of sin, with apostolic "uncorruptness, gravity, and sincerity, and with sound speech, which could not be condemned," convinced and impressed multitudes of his hearers, and proved to many of them "the power of God unto salvation." His unwearied patience in teaching both adults and children, his anxiety not to swell, like Xavier, and other Romish missionaries, the mere numbers

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of his converts, but to render them intelligent, humble, practical Christians, and his entire freedom from all ostentation or exaggeration in the periodical reports of his proceedings, are no less deserving of commendation.

Among the qualities which tended materially to accredit and recommend him as a missionary, was that sweetness of disposition, and that cordiality and kindness of address which, springing "out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned," shed an aspect of benignity and cheerfulness over his countenance, and added a charm to his very appearance, and persuasion to his lips. He was at peace with God, and his heart was habitually animated by that love to him, which irresistibly expanded in love to his brother also. In him was remarkably exemplified the beautiful observation of Lord Bacon; "Certainly it is heaven upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the poles of truth."

Those who knew him personally, unanimously agree, that it was impossible to converse with Swartz without being convinced of the identity of true piety and real happiness. Though, like the aged patriarch at the close of life, amidst the pressure of disease and pain, and in the anticipation of eternity, he might be allowed to call the present a "sorrowful world," few, perhaps, ever

passed through it with nobler or purer enjoyment. He was equally welcome and equally happy, at the palace and the cottage, amidst the councils of princes, and the instruction and conversation of the poor. His well-informed and liberal mind, and cheerful unaffected manners, rendered him an acceptable guest at the table of the military commander, and in the houses of the civil servants of the East India Company; and whether among the rich or the poor, his one great object was ever kept in view, of promoting the honour of his heavenly Master, and the present and future welfare of mankind. Well had he studied, and eminently did he illustrate, St. Paul's eloquent description of the ministerial character, "Giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed; but in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in labours, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and, behold. we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet

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making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things."

Of the beneficence and charity of Swartz it is difficult to speak in terms of adequate praise. From the commencement to the completion of his missionary course, he realized the beautiful, and only traditionary aphorism of our Saviour, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive." With his brethren and associates he divided one portion of his allowances from government, expended another in the erection of churches and schools, and with a third maintained catechists and teachers. He not only visited the fatherless and widows in their affliction, but during the greater part of his life, the education and support of orphans formed one of the principal and most delightful objects of his daily attention and employment. Such was his paternal affection for the poor and destitute, that on discovering what he supposed to be a benevolent establishment for orphans at Seringapatam, he could not help indulging a glow of kindly feeling even towards Hyder Ali himself. We have seen, too, notwithstanding the generous expenditure of his whole life, that by husbanding his resources, he proved a permanent benefactor at his death to the sacred cause to which he had been so simply, yet so energetically devoted.

It will readily be imagined, that without assum-

ing any undue authority, the influence of this eminent man with his coadjutors, and with the native teachers and converts, was commanding and supreme. He was, upon the soundest principles of reason and Scripture, a lover of order, regularity, and just obedience. When, a few years after his death, on the proposal by his successors of some new regulations to which some objections were made by the native Christians on the ground that while Mr. Swartz was with them no such rules had existed, the missionaries replied, that "during their revered father's lifetime, his presence and his word had been instead of all regulations;" and at a later period, Christian David, the son of the pious Sattianaden, observed, that "Swartz gave good advice to the native priests, catechists, schoolmasters, pupils, and converts, and composed all their differences with apostolic discretion and love."

Of his influence with the unconverted natives, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, among whom he was designated by the title of "the Christian," and that too, as a mark of respect, many striking proofs have been already adduced in these memoirs; and of his persuasive authority with the European residents at Tanjore, the following pleasing instance is generously communicated by one of the parties to whom it relates.

"I readily confide to you," writes this gentle-

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man, respecting some circumstances which it is unnecessary to detail, "an account of this transaction, because it shows the candour and good faith of Mr. Swartz, and gives me an opportunity of acknowledging that a duel between the late —— and myself could not have been prevented by any influence inferior to that which the loved and venerated padre exercised over both of us, as well as over the sentiments and conduct of every other gentleman in Tanjore. That irresistible influence checked the first impulse of my resentment, and induced me to try the path which led to explanation, instead of following the more obvious and usual course which offered itself to the partial view of a young soldier; and it was, assuredly, the same influence, and no fear of my resentment, which prevailed with Mr. —— to adopt the course which he pursued. It may be that I owe to Mr. Swartz, that the weight of the blood of a friend is not added to the too heavy load of my other transgressions."[1]

[1] A very remarkable instance of Mr. Swartz's influence, both with natives and Europeans, occurs in his official report to the directors of missions at Halle, for the year 1775, which the author has only just seen, (March 1835,) and of which he can now only give a brief sketch.

A gentleman who occupied an official situation of respectability, and who had previously disregarded Swartz's earnest exhortations to a religious life, was taken dangerously ill, and, having sent for the pious missionary, expressed the deepest

The talents and acquirements of a man so highly honoured, and so eminently and extensively useful, could be of no ordinary and limited kind. His natural endowments, though not brilliant, were superior and commanding. A sound judgment, calm and steady energy, great

anguish of conscience from having acquired a considerable sum of money by fraudulent means, and anxiously requested his advice under these distressing circumstances. Mr. Swartz at once informed him, that it was his bounden duty to make restitution of the property thus unjustly obtained. He then confessed that the money in question, amounting to several thousand pagodas, belonged to the nabob of Arcot, whom he had defrauded by rendering him false accounts. Mr. Swartz next proposed that, without disclosing his name, he should communicate these painful facts to the prince. Of this the gentleman fully approved, though the repayment would deprive him of the means of providing for his family; and immediately deposited the money in a friend's house for this purpose. Mr. Swartz accordingly wrote a full account of the whole to the nabob, who in a reply which does equal honour to the Mahomedan prince and to the upright missionary, after expressing his just sense of the unworthy conduct of the European, and of the beneficial influence of Mr. Swartz in leading him to repentance, in order to mark his approbation of the return of the unhappy man to the paths of rectitude and truth, generously resolved, if the money should be found to belong to himself, to forgive the whole debt; but if, upon strict inquiry, it should appear that it was the property of his subjects, while he could not but direct it, in that case, to be returned to the rightful owners, he nobly offered to present the penitent offender with a donation of one thousand pagodas, to preserve him from absolute ruin, and to encourage him to future integrity.

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acuteness and sagacity in the discernment of character, and in the conduct of important affairs, resolution and perseverance in the execution of plans deliberately formed, were their principal characteristics. Though not profoundly learned, in addition to the knowledge of classical literature which he acquired in Germany, he was a good Hebrew scholar,[1] and a master of the Tamul and Persian, the Hindoostanee, the Mahratta, and the Indo-Portuguese tongues. These were all which were practically useful in the position which he occupied in India. The stores of Sanscrit learning would otherwise have been objects of his research. The correctness and ease with which he wrote and spoke the English language were remarkable. From the period of his settlement at Trichinopoly, he was indeed closely connected and identified with English society, habits, and manners. He was warmly and loyally attached to the British government and interests in India, anxious only for the correction of abuses, and the rendering of our growing ascendancy and power subservient to the moral and religious, as well as civil and political, welfare of the natives of the vast empire so wonderfully submitted to our control. His cultivation of English literature, though in some degree

[1] Dr. Buchanan mentions that he found at Tanjore some Syriac tracts, translated by Mr. Swartz from the German.

general, was chiefly confined, as might be expected, to our theological writers. CHAP. XXIII.

If to these intellectual endowments and attainments, be added that entire freedom from every selfish and personal consideration, whether of wealth, fame, or power, that perfect disinterestedness and integrity, which the united voice of friends and enemies, of contemporaries and succeeding inquirers, has so unequivocally and so justly ascribed to him, it cannot be a subject of surprise, that he should subdue the prejudices and win the hearts of all around him; and that without the slightest wish to be thus employed, his interposition and assistance should, upon various occasions, have been solicited and courted in affairs of civil and political importance, in every one of which the result was equally honourable to the uprightness of his principles, and the ability of his conduct. "The spirit of power and of love, and of a sound mind," was in this, as well as in every other part of his character, conspicuous and predominant, and tended at once to give him favour, and to render him acceptable both with God and with men.

The personal habits of this extraordinary man have been already sufficiently apparent. Simplicity, moderation, self-denial, activity, regularity, patience, kindness, courtesy, cheerfulness, pervaded his every thought, word, and action.

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He was engaged in a multiplicity of affairs, civil and political, as well as religious; wrote, and for many years corresponded much, both on matters of public business and of private friendship; but such was his vigour and such his habits of application and despatch, that he was never hurried or overwhelmed. His favourite recreation seems to have been in the intercourse of Christian friendship, and in the exercise of Christian psalmody, the taste for which he acquired in his youth, and the melody of which soothed his departing hours.

How frequently the repose of the night was interrupted by the necessary occupations of business, or the more sacred duties of devotion, we have before had occasion to observe; and when, a few years after his departure, Dr. Buchanan visited Tanjore, he was told that Swartz seldom preached to the natives without previous study, and that he continued a diligent study to the last,—thus proving, by his powerful example, what is also eminently illustrated by that of Martyn, that though human learning or knowledge is not to supersede that which is divine, or the meditations of the student to preclude a humble dependence on the teaching which is from above, they are, at the same time, the best companions and auxiliaries of missionary piety, and missionary labour and success.

It is remarkable, considering the length of his career, and the variety, and frequently the difficulty and delicacy, of his engagements, that the testimonies to the character and conduct of Swartz should be concurrent and unanimous; that with the single exception of his supposed tendency to political interference, which has been so perfectly refuted, there should be absolutely no discordant voice; that all, however differing on other points, should agree in admiring and revering him. It was not that his principles and his proceedings were universally approved; for many, doubtless, both Hindoos and Europeans, from unbelief or mere nominal Christianity, thought both the one and the other mistaken, visionary, and extreme; while others might perhaps have been inclined to interrupt or oppose him in his plans and labours. But such was his wisdom, his prudence, his blamelessness, his sanctity, his acknowledged usefulness and beneficence, that prejudice was disarmed, malice was defeated, enmity, if at any time it existed, was subdued. Those who would willingly have blamed, found no just ground of complaint against him, and those "who were of the contrary part were ashamed, having no evil thing to say of him."

It is still more extraordinary that, whether during the extended course of his ministry, or during the long interval of years which have

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elapsed since his departure to a higher world, no one, whatever might be his dispositions, relations, or opportunities, has ever asserted or insinuated any thing injurious or depreciating respecting the character or memory of this admirable man. It is not intended to be affirmed that he was faultless. The sins and imperfections of the holiest of the sons of men, and his own singular humility, and unaffected acknowledgments, sufficiently preclude so arrogant and inconsistent a claim.

It is, however, undoubtedly true, that whatever may have been the failings and infirmities of Swartz, they were known only to himself and to God. By his fellow-mortals they have not only never been proclaimed, but never even conjectured. He was like the patriarch of old, "perfect and upright in his generation," and, so far as the observation and scrutiny of man extended, exemplary and blameless. To whatever degree this peculiar excellence really belonged to him, he owed it, as he would gratefully have acknowledged, to the principles and motives of the gospel, and to that grace of God which had made him what he was, by which he ennobled the name of missionary, and displayed in these latter days the virtues of the apostolic age. But he has long since quitted a state of being from which imperfection is inseparable, and has joined the assembly

of the "just made perfect," where, clothed with that robe of righteousness to which by faith in his Redeemer he alone trusted for acceptance, he has been "presented faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy."

The character and example of Swartz have been justly exhibited as a model to protestant missionaries of every class during more than half a century. "The bishop," observes the biographer of a late Oriental Prelate,[1] "used to say at his table at Calcutta, that he wished a copy of the memoirs of Swartz might be placed in the hands of every student at Bishop's College, and every missionary throughout the diocese." The peculiar nature of his example renders it eminently worthy of such a recommendation. It is not that of one whose talents or acquirements were so exalted and extensive as to dazzle and confound the beholders, and, by its immense superiority, or unattainable excellence, to preclude all hope of successful imitation. It is, as we have already observed, that of a man of solid, but not in themselves and separately considered of splendid endowments; though, in their proportion, combination, and harmony, it must he admitted, not often witnessed or possessed. Sound, however, and valuable as his intellectual powers and acquisitions were, his moral and religious

[1] Brief Memoirs, by the Rev. Edward James, p. 108.

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qualities were those which chiefly distinguished him; which gave force and energy to his character, which conciliated the esteem, and secured the confidence of all, and which have rendered his name illustrious, and his memory, as well as his labours, so inestimable a blessing to the church and to the world. It was the triumph of principles and of conduct purely and eminently Christian, of that singleness of eye and simplicity of purpose, which at first carried him willingly and with his whole heart to India, of that faith, hope, and love, which, placing full before him "the prize of his high calling," the "crown of righteousness," the "crown of life," and strengthening, animating, and constraining him, led to that "patient continuance in well doing," whether in the humbler or more elevated departments of his duty, which at length conducted him to "glory, and honour, and immortality."

And let not any one imagine, that this is a course which, though easily described, may be easily exemplified and pursued. The grace which originated so holy and self-denying a purpose, as that of abandoning the ties of kindred and of country, and of crossing distant seas, and sojourning in strange, and partially civilized regions, of acquiring difficult, and, in any other view, for the most part, uninteresting languages, and of associating with those whose errors, superstitions, and

vices could not but be peculiarly painful and revolting to a religious mind, is widely different from that which may legitimately lead to a dedication to the office of the ministry in a native and a Christian land; while the grace which, amidst incessant toil, frequently amidst discouragement and disappointment, not seldom under the pressure of infirmity, and amidst the prevalence and the danger of surrounding disease and death, and, what is more than all, amidst perpetual temptations to the indulgence of cupidity and earthly gratification, must be allowed by all who are competent to form a correct judgment upon the subject, to be equally rare and exclusively Christian, to be the result only of the closest and most uninterrupted communion with God; of unremitting watchfulness and self-controul; of habitual and unbroken meditation upon the inspired sources of wisdom and consolation, and of fervent and persevering prayer. Yet such was the course which the grace of God originally inspired in the breast of the subject of these memoirs, and which it continued uninterruptedly to cherish, and, at the close of fifty years, crowned with unexampled success and honour.

Of the extent to which his character and his services were held in admiration and reverence, the pious missionary himself was utterly and unaffect-

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edly unconscious. Neither in his public nor in his private correspondence, can the slightest trace be discerned of any feeling of self-complacency. His history affords a striking and encouraging illustration of the truth of that general principle of the conduct of Almighty God towards mankind,—"Them that honour me I will honour;" and of that corresponding declaration of our Lord and Master,—"If any man serve me, him will my Father honour." It was verified in the respect and confidence which his name inspired, both in India and in Europe, in the esteem and affection of the wise and good, in the signal blessing which accompanied his labours, and in the veneration with which his memory is every where cherished.

Honoured, however, as he was, both in his life and in his death, he was still in this world, to adopt the beautiful language of the son of Sirach, "like the morning star in the midst of a cloud," which intercepted, and partially obscured his rays, and deprived him at once of his native lustre, and of his unimpeded influence and power. But he kindled in the south of India a light which has been continually growing brighter and stronger, and is hastening, as we devoutly trust, to a more complete and "perfect day;" while he is already, to the eye of faith, exalted "among the children

of God," above the brightness of all earthly glory, and shall ere long "shine forth like the sun," in full and unclouded splendour, "in the kingdom of their Father." CHAP. XXIII.

CHAPTER XXIV.

State of the missions for some years after the death of Swartz—Labours and success of Messrs. Jœnické and Gerické in the South of the Peninsula—Death and Character of those missionaries—The Rev. Mr. Horst—Ordination of four Catechists—Exertions and writings of Dr. Buchanan for the promotion of Christianity in India—Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India—Beneficial effects of it—Bill for the addition of two Suffragan Bishops, and for rendering Christian converts eligible to all situations and employments—Progress of the Gospel in Tinnevelly—Testimonies of Bishops Middleton and Heber, and of the Rev. Mr. Hough—Reflections on the numbers of the converts to Christianity, and on the duty and the means of promoting their increase—The importance, in this view, of Swartz's example—Conclusion.

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THE history of the life and labours of Swartz would be imperfect and incomplete, if we were not briefly to advert to the events and circumstances which occurred within a few years after his lamented departure from the world, with reference more particularly to the missions with which he was connected. He left behind him several able and excellent coadjutors, by whose zealous and de-

voted exertions the cause of Christianity in India continued to flourish and increase. Of these, the senior was the pious and admirable Gerické, who, though statedly resident at Vepery, near Madras, occasionally assisted with his counsels and his labours, Mr. Kohlhoff, the worthy successor of Swartz at Tanjore, and particularly co-operated with the indefatigable Jœnické, in the south of the Peninsula. The latter of these valuable missionaries did not long survive his apostolic predecessor. In a letter to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, dated at Tanjore, the 23rd of May 1800, his brethren and fellow-labourers lament the severe loss which they and the mission had sustained by his recent death. "From the time of his arrival in India," they observed, "till seized with that dreadful sickness, the hill fever, he had pursued his work with fervour and delight. He was a great blessing to the congregation and school at Tanjore, and a happy instrument for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, in the countries to the south; where he erected several churches, established schools, and had laboured with all his strength to instruct the ignorant, to awaken the careless, and to animate every one to walk worthy of his holy profession. The great endowments of his mind," they added, "the excellent dispositions of his heart, and his zeal for the glory of God, and the good of souls, had given

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them cause to regret his early death; and it was matter of especial sorrow to them, that such an afflicting stroke should so soon have followed the lamented death of the venerable Mr. Swartz; but they prayed that God might mercifully look upon the afflicted state of the mission; that he might be their helper and protector, and supply his church in that country with able and faithful labourers!"[1]

In the following year, Mr. Gerické communicated to the Society the gratifying intelligence that several new congregations had recently sprung up in the south; that at Dindegal and Madura, chapels were building; and that it was his intention to employ Sattianaden as an itinerant teacher at these and other places, for which stated labourers could not as yet be provided. In another letter, he laments the want of assistance at Tanjore. "It is delightful," he says, "to see the growth of the Tanjore mission, and the southern congregations dependent on it. The inhabitants of whole villages flock to it. What a pity that there are not labourers for such a great and

[1] The pious Jœnické died at Tanjore, and was buried in the mission church near the remains of his revered friend, with whom he had so faithfully and affectionately served as a son in the gospel—amid the sighs and tears of the sorrowing congregation.

delightful harvest! At Jaffna, and on all the coast of Ceylon, there is another great harvest. We have sent such of our native catechists as could be spared; but many are required for that extensive work."

Mr. Kohlhoff confirmed this encouraging report. He and the native assistants had made several journeys to publish the word of God in various towns and villages of Tanjore, where new congregations had been formed. At Kanandagudi, where the charitable and munificent institutions of the rajah, already mentioned, were afterwards established, about forty families had come to the resolution of renouncing the worship of idols, and of turning to "the living and true God." At Adanjour, and at Leraloor, villages in a different direction from Tanjore, many others had been converted to the faith of the gospel, and chapels had been erected for divine worship.

The majority of the members of these new congregations were of the Collary caste, and proprietors of lands, cultivated by themselves, and at Pudapatty, which is nearly in the centre of the Collary district, a chapel had been built, and an able catechist, educated by Swartz, was stationed there. "Formerly," observed Mr. Gerické, in his journey through this country, "the road between Trichinopoly and Tanjore had been very unsafe, from the depredations of the Collaries; but since

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the late Mr. Swartz had been among them, and had formed congregations in these parts, we have heard nothing of robberies."

A new school-house had also been opened at Tanjore, capable of accommodating above a thousand children, in which the English, the provincial, and the Tamul schools were collected together.

The following extract from a journal of the Rev. Mr. Cœmmerer, in 1803, gives a very interesting account of the state of Christianity in the mission churches at and in the vicinity of Tanjore.

"When I visited the mission congregation at Tanjore, and prepared its members for the ordinance of the Lord's supper, I observed with great pleasure and satisfaction the blessed effects which Christianity had evidently produced among the natives, more especially among those who had been favoured with the personal instructions of our dear departed fellow-labourer Swartz. Their attention, devotional fervour, and earnestness in prayer, truly edified me, and though my labour in the Lent season was exhausting, having to attend not only to the congregation in the city of Tanjore, but also to those dispersed through the adjoining villages, yet all labour and exertion were rendered easy by the Christian spirit and conduct which I witnessed.

"In paying a visit to the neighbouring Chris-

tian congregations, I also came to Pudapatty, half a day's journey from Tanjore; where a beautiful Christian church has been erected. The catechist (Wedamaniaken) a truly amiable man, (who was a schoolboy when in 1792 the late venerable Swartz instructed me in the Malabar language,) came to meet me there with a numerous band of native Christians, whose conversation I greatly enjoyed, more especially in the quiet evening hours. I performed here the public worship of God in the church, and afterwards addressed the heathen.

"I then proceeded to the next village, called Budelur, in which I met a still more numerous congregation of native Christians, under the immediate care of an aged and faithful catechist, of the name of Dewasagajam, who had been gardener to Mr. Swartz about fifteen years, and had planted many a tree by his direction, of whose refreshing fruits we now have the pleasure of partaking. This man enjoyed familiar intercourse with our revered father, and frequenting, as he did, his daily morning and evening devotions, he made considerable progress in Christian knowledge, and also constantly exercised himself in reading and writing. Mr. Swartz having long watched him, and convinced himself of his Christian integrity and zeal, made use by degrees of his talents and acquirements by requesting him to teach the ten

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commandments, and also the great fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion to those heathen who had declared their intention to receive Christian instruction, and also to repeat those preparatory lessons which Mr. Swartz had himself given to those hopeful beginners. By constant exercise the native teacher acquired such facility in Christian instruction, that the late excellent Mr. Jœnické could profitably use him as an assistant, and finally appointed him a regular catechist, which office he now discharges with dignity, and much profit to the people."

The most remarkable, however, of these reports respecting the increased prevalence of Christianity in this part of India, is contained in a letter from Mr. Gerické, early in 1803, in which he informed the Society that he had recently travelled through the Mysore, and from thence to Palamcotta, and nearly to the extremity of the Peninsula. "It had pleased God," he said, "to awaken such a sense of religion among the inhabitants of whole villages, that they had sought instruction from the neighbouring Christians and their catechists, and particularly from Sattianaden, and were waiting anxiously for his arrival, to be further instructed, and baptized. In some of these villages, chapels had been already built, and in others the natives had broken their idols, and buried them deep in the ground, and converted their temples into

Christian churches." On his departure from the Tinnevelly country, where these gratifying scenes had occurred, messages were received from many villages, entreating him to prolong his stay, and to do among them what had been so happily effected in other places. With this request it was not in his power to comply; but he recommended them to the care of Sattianaden, and of the native catechists and assistants. In the course of this journey, Gericke baptized above thirteen hundred persons; and, after his departure, the native teachers formed eighteen new congregations, and instructed and baptized two thousand seven hundred people; so that the whole number of these converts amounted to no fewer than four thousand. This extraordinary success excited a very considerable persecution on the part of some of their heathen neighbours, and particularly from those who were officially employed under the collector of the district. Sattianaden was deeply depressed by the cruelties exercised upon the new Christians, one of whom wrote to Mr. Gericke, that, but for the hope of heaven, such were their sufferings, they should all throw themselves into the sea. The excellent Kohlhoff, however, a true "son of consolation," kindly undertook to visit and comfort these oppressed converts; and at his earnest entreaties, the collector at length put a stop to the injustice and machinations of their enemies.

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The conduct of Gerické, upon this interesting occasion, has been severely, but very unjustly and unreasonably, blamed, as if he had permitted the great body of the people just described to be baptized without sufficient evidence of their sincere conversion to the Christian faith. The charge itself is perfectly gratuitous, and appears to have been founded simply on the extraordinary numbers of the candidates for admission into the Christian church; forgetting the various means which had, during many previous years, been in active operation in the southern districts, the labour which had been bestowed upon them by Swartz and his pious and unwearied coadjutors, Jœnické and Sattianaden, and, above all, the fervent prayers which had been offered for that divine blessing which had now so evidently been bestowed, and which has ever since continued to prosper the "work of the Lord" in that favoured part of the peninsula.

At the close of this splendid, and, as it unhappily proved, this last stage of his missionary career, Mr. Gerické, like his venerable predecessor, took occasion to express his assurance, that if there were only an additional number of faithful and discreet labourers, wherever a door was opened to them, rapid would be the progress of the gospel. Like Swartz, too, he urged the great importance of European missionaries, from

the fact, that the discourses of the native teachers, even supposing them to be in other respects equal, failed in carrying the same degree of weight with them. "They never gain," he observes, "the confidence that is placed in an European, *when they are once convinced that he is really what he exhorts them to be.* Without good missionaries, true disciples of Jesus Christ, from home, the work of the mission would lose its respectability, even though the native teachers were good men; and missionaries," he emphatically adds, "without the spirit and mind of Christ, and as full of the world as the natives are, would soon make the mission the most graceless thing imaginable.

"It has pleased God," he concludes, "to lead us, these several years, through great anxieties with regard to the mission; but we observe and believe, that a kind Providence watches over it; and such help as seemed absolutely necessary for its preservation, has always been furnished in due time. This keeps our hopes alive, and preserves us from losing our energy."

With these pious and animating sentiments, this most excellent man closed his correspondence with the Society. Soon after his return from the memorable journey to the south, which has been just mentioned, he was attacked by a fever, from which he partially recovered; but his increasing and incessant labours did not permit him to enjoy

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the rest which his weakness and age required. Change of air was recommended; but, arriving at Vellore, he was unable to proceed, and died there on the 12th of October, 1803, in the 62nd year of his age, and in the 38th of his labours as a missionary in India. "In him," observes one of his brethren, "the Society lost a most faithful servant, the mission its second pillar, and all India a benefactor, and an eminent example of piety and virtue."

Mr. Gericke, though much blessed, had been greatly afflicted in his domestic relations. The death of his daughter has been already noticed; and during his journey to Tanjore in 1801, he had many an anxious thought respecting his only son, who was an officer in the Company's service at Ongole, where he was then extremely ill, and whither his wife and his little grandson had gone to visit him.

"The last letter," thus he wrote to a friend, "which I received from Ongole, reached me at Tranquebar in going to Negapatam and Tanjore. Near my journey's end at Sadras, my Dutch friends, not knowing that the melancholy news had been concealed from me, came to condole; *and I found that my son had died in the very night in which I had dreamt that I saw him dying at Trichinopoly.* After my arrival at Vepery, I had still to wait eight days for the return

of Mrs. Gerické and the little boy from Ongole, without a syllable from them; and when she arrived, we had to lift her out of her palankeen like a corpse, having lost the use of her limbs and all her strength. She can now walk again, but does not come out of her room. She is quite regardless of life. All my brethren and my friends have not expected that I should survive so much affliction. I know what I feel, and my feelings on such occasions, though not violent, are lasting. I loved my children dearly. God gave them, and God heard my prayers every day in the education of them. They cost me much anxiety; and when the Lord had helped me so far as that I was no longer in any anxiety about them, he took them from me. But," adds this truly pious man, "he has not withdrawn his comforts. He makes me die to the world, and gives me that peace which the world cannot give. He keeps me in health, and I go on in my services. My sorrows draw me to 'the God of all consolation,' and wean me from the world." CHAP. XXIV.

We cannot be surprised that sorrows such as these should have undermined the health of one so susceptible and affectionate. It is a striking proof of the power of religion in his heart that he should, amidst them all, have exhibited such ardent and unremitting zeal and diligence in his missionary labours. The consternation and grief

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which pervaded all classes on the death of this excellent and valuable man, cannot be described. His mild, meek, and humble character, had endeared him to persons of distinguished rank, as well as to those of inferior station. His conversation, it is said, was particularly agreeable and instructive, from the stores of information which his long experience and attentive observation had enabled him to accumulate. He spoke with so much wisdom, that all who heard him were pleased; and even such as differed from him on the subject of religion, respected and revered his piety. The simplicity and integrity of his character, had obtained for him the title of "*The primitive Christian.*" Though the propagation of the gospel was his chief object, and occupied his principal attention, he took a lively interest in all institutions for the general good, and particularly encouraged the cultivation of learning and science. He even paid a monthly salary to a Brahmin for assisting one of his brethren in the study of Indian literature. His readiness and diligence in doing good were unwearied, and his charities boundless. Though from various sources he had derived considerable wealth, he observed the utmost frugality in his style of living, that he might be able to afford more extensive relief to the poor and needy, the widow and the orphan. To his brethren, he was a most kind and generous friend and bene-

factor; never assuming any superiority over them, but ever being the first to take upon himself the heaviest burdens, to assist and to comfort them. In the year 1800, he rebuilt the church at Cuddalore out of his own funds; and at his death, besides a provision for the Christian poor at Negapatam, Mr. Gerické left to the Vepery mission fifteen thousand star pagodas,[1] together with the reversion of another considerable sum and a large house, on the demise of his widow. He was, in short, only inferior in piety and benevolence to Swartz himself, whose cordial and affectionate friend and coadjutor he had been during a lengthened period of service, and with whom, after no long interval, he was re-united in happiness and glory for ever.[2]

This second bereavement was a severe blow to the Indian missions. It was particularly felt by Mr. Kohlhoff, upon whom, in addition to the extensive Tanjore mission, and the care of the numerous congregations between Palamcotta and Cape Comorin, the duty of the new English garrison at Tanjore had now devolved. To re-

[1] About £6,000 sterling.

[2] An elegant monument is erected to the memory of this excellent man in Madras, near that of his venerable friend, in which he is represented with the Bible in his hand, and a group of children around him, pointing to the sacred volume, and exhorting a Hindoo to believe.

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lieve him under these accumulated burthens, Mr. Cœmmerer of Tranquebar, as we have lately seen, assisted him by periodical journeys, as well as by the catechists of that mission, and repeated the earnest call for fresh labourers from Europe. The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, while "lamenting the loss of Mr. Gerické so soon after that of the invaluable Mr. Swartz," could only regret the failure of their endeavours to obtain new missionaries from Halle. The learned and venerable professor Schulz, who had survived his return from India nearly sixty years, and who had recommended so many valuable candidates for the Indian mission, rested from his own various and protracted labours the year after the death of Swartz. He had associated with himself in the direction of the orphan house the late excellent Dr. Knapp; but the religious state of the German universities at this period, which has been already alluded to, rendered every application of this kind for the present fruitless.

When Mr. Gerické was called to the mission at Vepery in 1787, he left at Cuddalore Mr. Christopher Horst, a young man who had studied in a German university, to superintend the schools at that place. His piety, zeal, and diligence in that subordinate capacity had been most exemplary, and on Mr. Holzberg's settlement at Cud-

dalore, he removed to Tranquebar to qualify himself more perfectly for the service of the mission. Hitherto the generous Gericke had allowed him a salary of £60 a year; but as that had now ceased, Mr. Pohlé, whose health was beginning to decline, requested the Society to supply this deficiency, and to permit him to assist in the mission at Trichinopoly. The Society readily consented to send Mr. Horst a gratuity of £50 for his recent services at Cuddalore, but suspended any permanent salary till farther accounts were received of his competency to act as a missionary. About three years afterwards this promising young man having fully proved his qualifications for the ministry, was ordained, according to the rites of the Lutheran church, by Messrs. Pohlé, Kohlhoff, and Holzberg, and with the approbation of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, was appointed to a share in the extensive labours of the Tanjore mission. An extract from one of his letters to a friend in the midst of the French conquests in Germany, will give a pleasing view of his disinterested and zealous piety.

"I wrote," he observes, "to Germany in 1806," the year of his ordination, "to order a printing press, with divers Latin and a few German types, to be sent out to me from Copenhagen, together with Malabar types from Halle, at my own ex-

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pense, independent of the one which we hope to obtain from England. I was then joint owner of a manor left by my maternal grandfather, and had three thousand dollars of one year's income of that estate in the hands of my attornies. But now the estate, as well as the three thousand dollars, have no doubt become a prey to the grand nation. The Lord's will be done! He will provide for myself and mine. Only I regret the press. When I bespoke it, I thought that in the event of a casualty, (which God avert,) I should be obliged to go to Trichinopoly, and then my own press should have gone with me. Meanwhile, I would have used it constantly at Tanjore."

Mr. Horst was married, and had a large family; and in the same letter in which the preceding passage occurs he says, "My private circumstances are poor, and I find it a hard matter to make both ends meet."

It was just at this period that the late Dr. Buchanan, on his way to the coast of Malabar, visited Trichinopoly and Tanjore. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the sacred interest and delight with which this ardent and munificent friend of the missionary cause contemplated the scene of Swartz's labours; how highly he was gratified with all that he saw and heard in what he emphatically styled "the garden of

the gospel," the numbers, the devotion, the order and apparent happiness of the native converts, the piety, zeal, and learning of Kohlhoff and Horst, of Pohlé and John, and the simple scriptural eloquence of the aged Sattianaden; and how confidently he anticipated, that "from Tanjore streams would probably flow, like its own fertilizing rivers, throughout the neighbouring lands." Wherever he travelled, this eminent man left behind him the traces of his Christian benevolence. Independently of his own private donations, he recommended to the missionaries at Tanjore an application to the Madras government for an additional allowance in support of their schools, which happily proved successful.

"We pray our gracious Lord," writes Mr. Horst to Dr. Buchanan, in 1809, "abundantly to requite your munificence to his servants. God bless you, dear sir, more than words can express, for your affection to his work among the heathen. Now Mr. Kohlhoff needs not make any further debts; and may by degrees pay off those which he has been obliged to contract, in order to maintain the many native labourers in the Tinnevelly district, for which the interest of Mr. Swartz's legacy is not sufficient."

This valuable man had entered warmly into Dr. Buchanan's wishes to collect materials for a life of the venerable missionary, but he was not

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long spared for this or any other service. In the year 1810, Mr. Kohlhoff announced to the Society the painful intelligence of his death. His learning and abilities, he observed, his ardent desire to be useful, the fervour and delight with which he ever pursued his work, and the essential services which he had rendered to himself and to the mission, had given him great cause to lament so early and unexpected a removal, which had deprived the mission of a faithful pastor, and a wife and numerous family of an affectionate husband, and a kind parent. It was particularly afflicting to have him called away at a time when the want of faithful missionaries was so severely felt; whilst his amiable disposition and uncommon application to business, had afforded the most sanguine hope of his proving a blessing to the missions. "The sufferings he underwent," adds Mr. Kohlhoff, "during the latter part of his illness, were very severe; yet he endured them with the patience and firmness of a Christian. His humble submission to the will of God, on his approaching dissolution, was truly awakening to every one that attended him; while the peace and tranquillity which he enjoyed to his very last breath, was a lively example of the inestimable happiness that attends a life of godliness."

Well might the aged Pohlé, on hearing of this distressing loss, exclaim, in a letter to the Society,

"Would to God that we could receive new missionaries! I am upwards of sixty-six years old; my strength faileth me, and I may soon be gone, and the mission be left an unprovided orphan. May the Lord hear our prayers, and help us for his mercy's sake!" CHAP. XXIV.

Under these afflicting circumstances, the native priest Sattianaden being now also advanced in age, and unequal to the laborious duties which he had hitherto performed among the country congregations, Mr. Pohlé and Mr. Kohlhoff, with the consent of the Society, and the concurrence of their Danish brethren, resorted to the best and indeed the only means of increasing the number of their fellow labourers in their power. They selected four of the most pious and experienced native catechists attached to the Tanjore mission, one of whom was Nyánapracasam,[1] the history of whose conversion the reader will remember, and all of whom, to adopt their own expressions, "had from their childhood had the happiness of enjoying the sound and wholesome instructions of their late father, the revered Swartz, and to whom the words of St. Paul to Timothy, 'Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, and hast been assured of, *knowing of whom thou hast learned them,*' might justly and with good reason be applied;" and

[1] See vol. i. pp. 232, 261.

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having examined and heard them preach their probationary sermons, after a discourse by Mr. Kohlhoff from 1 Tim. iv. 16, and a charge from Mr. Pohlé, with the assistance of the aged Sattianaden, solemnly ordained them, according to the form of the Lutheran ritual. They were immediately received into the service of the Society, and appointed to different stations in the Tanjore and Palamcotta missions.

While these zealous missionaries were thus endeavouring to supply the loss of their departed brethren, and in some measure to provide for the religious wants of their rapidly increasing congregations, a spirit had been excited in England, which, though it did not immediately respond to their reiterated entreaties for additional labourers from Europe, cheered their desponding hearts, and afforded the most gratifying proof of a widely extended and increasing interest in the promotion of Christianity in India. The attention of Dr. Buchanan had, it is well known, been anxiously directed during his residence in Bengal to the inadequate provision which had hitherto been made for the support of Christianity among the European population in India, as well as to the deplorable condition in a moral and religious point of view, of the natives of that vast empire. Towards the close of the year 1805, his "Memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establish-

ment for British India, both as the means of perpetuating the Christian religion among our own countrymen, and as a foundation for the ultimate civilization" (as he cautiously expressed it, but as we may now fearlessly add, the conversion) "of the natives," was published in England. More than a century had elapsed since Archbishop Tennison and Dean Prideaux had expressed their earnest wishes for such an establishment of our church in India; but though the possessions, the power, and the responsibility of the British nation had since that period so immensely increased, little had been attempted towards promoting the interests of Christianity, beyond the addition of a few chaplains at some of the principal stations of the East India Company, and the efforts which have been partially detailed in the preceding pages of the Danish and English missionaries on the coast of Coromandel, and in the south of the peninsula. CHAP. XXIV.

The appeal thus unexpectedly made by Dr. Buchanan to the British nation, preceded and followed as it was by the proposal of prizes to the universities, and of other publications upon the same important subject, produced a very striking and permanent impression upon the public mind. During the two years which succeeded the appearance of his memoir, the question of an ecclesiastical establishment, as well as that of the duty

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of this Christian country to afford facilities for the propagation of the gospel in India, received the most ample and complete discussion; and the result was, that on the approaching renewal of the charter of the East India Company in the year 1812, a simultaneous effort was made by the more religious part of the community to enforce upon the government the necessity of making some effectual provision for these sacred and important purposes. In these endeavours to obtain the performance of a solemn national duty, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Church Missionary Society, warmly and effectively participated, by presenting memorials to the directors of the East India Company, and to his majesty's ministers, in which the whole subject was admirably discussed and powerfully urged. The success with which these truly Christian exertions were crowned is well known, in the establishment of the bishopric of Calcutta, and of an archdeaconry at each of the three presidencies; nor is it too much to assert, that while none of the evils predicted by the opponents of this great measure have in a single instance followed, the benefits which have resulted from it have far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its supporters and friends.

While, however, the merits and labours of the learned and eminent prelates who have in too

rapid and painful a succession adorned the see of Calcutta, are gratefully remembered, let not the services of the able, pious, and disinterested individual be forgotten, who first directed the attention of the nation to the expediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India; and who, amidst opposition, calumny, and reproach, patiently persevered in the great object to which his talents and his life were devoted, until it was accomplished. It would be as unjust and as unavailing, to deny to Luther the merit of having roused the indignation of Europe against the errors and enormities of the church of Rome, as to refuse to Buchanan the claim of having originated and developed, to the general conviction of the nation, the duty of establishing the faith of the church of England in India, of lifting aloft the standard of the cross to the millions of the unconverted natives of our eastern empire, and of proclaiming to the ends of the earth "the salvation of God." Every succeeding year has tended to confirm the substantial truth of the statements, as well as to illustrate the practical wisdom of that admirable man; and it is only to be regretted that his primary suggestions as to the necessity of the greater extent of the church establishment, and the duty of the East Indian government to afford greater protection and en-

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couragement to the profession of Christianity by the natives, have not as yet been realized.

Much, however, nay, far more than could have been previously anticipated, has been effected during the twenty years which have nearly elapsed since the first Protestant bishop landed on the shores of India. The visible and dignified establishment of our holy faith has evinced the religious character of the British nation, and received a corresponding tribute of respect from all ranks and orders of the natives. The learning and piety, the zeal and judgment of the East Indian prelates have illustrated the Christian character, and confirmed and accredited the episcopal authority. Churches have been erected and consecrated, schools built and endowed, and, above all, one noble institution, the Bishop's College, on the banks of the Hoogly, for the important purpose of training native youths as the future instructors of their countrymen in the principles of Christianity, as well as to be the source and centre of sacred Oriental literature. The inhuman sacrifice of the suttee has been abolished. The missionary stations have been visited, their wants relieved, and their numbers in some degree, though still inadequately, increased; and the native Christians recognised, elevated, and cheered. We review with gratitude these and other striking and

encouraging proofs of the increased prevalence, and the advancing influence, of Christianity in India; and we hail them as pledges that what still remains—and how much, alas! is there yet behind—will, in due time, be accomplished. We rejoice in the presiding wisdom and kindness of divine Providence in supplying, from time to time, the lamented vacancies in the East Indian episcopate; and we indulge an earnest and a confident hope, that the immense diocese of Calcutta, though once more committed to eminently pious and energetic, yet to single hands, may ere long receive augmented life and vigour, in the additional episcopal superintendence provided by Parliament in the bill recently passed for the renewal of the Company's charter, in the gradual increase of churches and chaplains at the principal European stations, and especially of schools for the instruction and improvement of the native Christians, combined with such regulations for ameliorating their condition, and securing their employment in the public service, equally with our Hindoo and Mahomedan subjects, as become the character and the duty of a Christian government.

The influence of the episcopal establishment in India has been peculiarly propitious to the English missions on the coast of Coromandel, and in the south of the peninsula. From the Danish

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mission at Tranquebar, "the glory" was evidently departing. The friendly visit and pecuniary aid of Bishop Middleton in 1816, afforded it a seasonable and temporary relief; but it has been gradually verging towards decay. It has fulfilled its course; and after having for more than a century been a light to them that sat in darkness, and the source from which the English missions derived their origin, is now, in the progress of events and years, eclipsed and superseded by their brighter and more extended rays.

At Trichinopoly, the learned and excellent Pohlé maintained the original foundation of Swartz, and laboured faithfully till the year 1818, though he never greatly added to the numbers of the congregation. But at Tanjore, and in the surrounding country, and in Tinnevelly, and southward towards Cape Comorin, the more extensive field, planted by the venerable Swartz, and, during more than twenty years, watered and cultivated by his own unwearied labours, and by those of Gerické, Jœnické, and Kohlhoff, and more recently by the valuable assistance of Sperschneider, Haubroe, and Rosen, the triumphs of the gospel have been progressive and delightful.

"It is a fact," observes the author of the Sketch of the Protestant Missions in India, "that in whatever part of southern India inquiry has been made as to the existence of native Protestant

Christians, some of the converts of Swartz and Gerické have been discovered; thus evidencing the beneficial influence of the early missionaries of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge in almost every part of the peninsula."

"We have," says Mr. Sullivan, principal collector of Coimbetore, addressing the Madras District Committee, "a small, but interesting, congregation of native Protestants here, who have wants which I must get supplied through your agency. They are descendants of some original disciples of Apostle Swartz, and do honour to their spiritual father. They join in our English church service; and when they get supplied with Tamul prayer-books, we shall have the service read amongst them in their native language on Sunday evenings. I want you therefore to send me a dozen of Dr. Rottler's translation, and a dozen English prayer-books, and the same number of psalters in Tamul.

"The request of Mr. Sullivan," it is added, "was immediately complied with, and he was assured of the readiness of the Committee to assist his plans for the benefit of the native Christian congregation in Coimbetore."

With what evident delight does Bishop Middleton[1] describe the native Christians in Tinnevelly, and mention the interesting visit of a party

[1] Life, vol. i. p. 228.

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who came from Palamcotta to welcome him, and to receive his blessing! "I went forward," says the bishop, "to meet them. They were headed by their native priest, and my man David, (the son of Sattianaden.) They were about thirty; and they formed the most remote congregation under Mr. Kohlhoff's care. The priest, a very interesting man, addressed me on behalf of his people; and, in reply, I gave them a suitable exhortation, which David interpreted with great energy, and they received it with every mark of thankfulness. They then opened their Tamul prayer-books, and sung a psalm of thanksgiving quite correctly, and in good time and melody. The Brahmins," a party of whom had also come to pay their respects to the bishop, "witnessed the scene, and both deputations quitted the camp together."

Of the native Christians in Tinnevelly, the following gratifying report was given a few years since by the Rev. James Hough, at that time chaplain of the East India Company at Palamcotta. After mentioning the church at that station, originally built by one of Swartz's female converts, he describes the numbers of the protestant Christians in the whole district as amounting to about four thousand, scattered through sixty-three villages, and consisting of congregations, varying in number from a few individuals

to three and four hundred. Some of these native converts were farmers; but the greater part were mechanics, persons of the caste of Shanars, cultivators of the cocoa-nut and palmyra trees. The increase in four years, from 1814 to 1817, was four hundred and eighty.

In a subsequent communication from Mr. Hough, written after he had visited some of the Christian stations in the interior, he gives a most interesting picture of the people whom he found there, especially in two villages inhabited entirely by Protestants.

"There is," he says, "a church at every station, but, with only two exceptions, they are built of unburnt brick, and covered with palmyra leaves. The ground on which these churches stand was given to the mission by the nabob's government about the year 1800, and most of the buildings were erected at the same time. Those I have seen are in very good repair, and it requires but a small sum annually to keep them so.

"The country priest, Viswasanaden, a pupil of Swartz, a man of great piety and ability, eminently successful in the conversion of his idolatrous countrymen, and highly respected both by heathens and Mahomedans, is stationed at a village called by the Christians Nazareth, about twenty miles south of Palamcotta, and Abraham, the other country priest, is at Mothelloor, a few miles

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further. If I may judge from appearances, during my short stay among the people of these two villages, they are much attached to their priests, as are the Christians of the surrounding country; and I am persuaded they only require to be well supported and encouraged, to prove of the most essential service to the congregations entrusted to their care. Even from my hasty visit, the joy diffused through all classes was indescribable, and the people flocked in from the neighbouring villages in every direction. On catechising such as were introduced to me as the principal people, I found them much better taught in their religion than I had anticipated; and, considering the space of time that they have been without a missionary, it was highly gratifying and encouraging to find the benign and peaceable genius of Christianity still keeping them at unity amongst themselves. The two villages named above, consist entirely of Protestants, nor is there an idol or heathen temple any where to be seen, while the stillness that prevailed, contrasted with the tumult of heathen abodes, seemed to invest these favoured spots with a degree of sanctity, and made me forget for the moment that they were in the midst of a pagan land. One of the priests led me to a part of the village, where were seated, under the shade of cocoa-nut trees, a considerable number of women spinning cotton, and singing Lutheran

hymns, to a late hour. There were two old men among the group who were converted to the Christian faith by the Society's missionary, Jœnické, about twenty years ago, and they sang to me several hymns he had taught them. What they sang, or said, was not so intelligible, indeed, as the language of younger men; but you will readily imagine them to have been among the most interesting of the company. I state these, perhaps, trifling particulars, to show that there appears to be something more than the bare name of Christianity here, and that the enemies of missionary exertions are mistaken in asserting, that there is not a genuine convert to Christianity among the native Protestants. If," adds this pious and judicious friend to such efforts, "the Society had no other fruit of their cares, their exertions, and their expenditures for the promotion of Christian knowledge in India to produce, they might triumphantly appeal to these two villages, in proof that their labour has not been in vain."[1]

It would not be difficult to add to the preceding testimonies to the importance of the Protestant missions in Tinnevelly; but these are amply sufficient to vindicate the success of past exertions, and to encourage the most cheering hopes for the

[1] Much additional information upon this interesting subject is contained in Mr. Hough's able reply to the letters of the Abbé Dubois, on the state of Christianity in India.

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future. "The number of converts," said Bishop Heber,[1] when writing from Trichinopoly, in 1826, "is gradually increasing; and there are in the south of India, about two hundred Protestant congregations, the numbers of which have been vaguely stated at forty thousand. I doubt whether they reach fifteen thousand; but even this, all things considered, is a great number." The calculation of the bishop was probably below the real amount. Our information upon this point is necessarily imperfect; but judging from the returns which have been made from time to time, the number of native Christians now connected with the different Protestant missions on the coast of Coromandel, and in the southern districts of the peninsula, can scarcely amount to less than twenty thousand; while the total number of converts, from the commencement of the missions to the present period, may be fairly estimated at sixty thousand.

These are indeed but trifling numbers when compared with the millions of the unconverted natives of that immense empire, which has, in so remarkable a manner, been subjected to our sway; but, viewed in connexion with the difficulties, natural, political, and moral, with which the pious men who have been successively engaged in the laborious and self-denying work of conver-

[1] Journal, vol. ii. p. 462.

sion have had to contend, with their limited numbers, and restricted means, they may justly be considered great; more particularly when it is remembered, that though too many of them, like others in our own favoured country, may not have advanced far beyond the mere name of Christians, yet multitudes among them have really accredited their religious profession, have lived under the purifying influence of Christian principles, and died in the faith and hope of the salvation revealed by the gospel. Justly, therefore, did Bishop Middleton, when surveying the Tanjore and Trichinopoly missions, as founded by the illustrious Swartz, pronounce that, "in a Christian point of view, they may be considered as forming the noblest memorial of British connexion with India." And with equal justice did the biographer of his lamented successor, when describing the memorials of the grateful rajah's veneration for their illustrious founder, declare that "in the daily increasing number of converts, in the churches which he built, and in the order and prosperity of their congregations, a more durable monument is raised to the memory of Swartz, than even the genius of Flaxman and the affection of the rajah combined could create."[1]

These, together with the other missionary stations in the peninsula, which, during so long

[1] Life of Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 419.

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a series of years were supported and watched over by the venerable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, have been transferred to the incorporated Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and placed under the superintendence and direction of the Bishop of Calcutta. They are now, therefore, identified with the church of England, and ought to be considered as objects of lively and sacred interest by all her members, and as essentially connected with our obligations and our duty as a Christian nation. Can we, indeed, conceive of a nobler destination than that which the providence of God has manifestly assigned to us, of rendering the dominion with which he has invested us, not only, as it undoubtedly has been and is, the source of many civil and political advantages to the natives of Hindostan, but subservient to the far higher purpose of communicating to them the inestimable blessings of the Christian revelation; "the knowledge of salvation through the remission of sins," the principles of holiness, the precepts of a pure and elevated morality, the means of grace, the sources of present consolation and happiness, and the hope of future and eternal glory! This all-important and exalted work has, during many years, been gradually, and almost insensibly advancing. The diffusion of useful knowledge, the progress of education, even when

not directly connected with Christian principles, as in the instance of Swartz's provincial schools, the abatement of native prejudice, and the abolition of cruel rites, the episcopal establishment of Christianity, and, above all, the improvement of the European character, and the increasing number of those who visibly exemplify and adorn the Christian name, have all been tending to promote and accelerate that great consummation so long and so ardently desired and implored by the real lovers of their country and of mankind, the general prevalence of Christianity in India. Remote, and even visionary as this expectation may to many appear, it is to the true believer in the divine origin and excellence of our holy religion, and in the recorded declarations of its ultimate and universal triumphs, anxiously, yet calmly regarded as the certain result of the faithful adoption and diligent improvement of suitable means and opportunities. In proportion as these are wisely and seasonably exerted, on the part of the local or the supreme governments, by affording increased facilities to the acquisition of European learning, by the suppression or the discountenancing, by all equitable and peaceful methods, of whatever, in the native superstitions, is plainly opposed to civil and social morality, and by the avowed and consistent support of Christian ordinances, and the Christian profession; and on the

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part of the civil and ecclesiastical members of the East India Company's service, by the exemplary and Christian discharge, each in his several rank and vocation, of their acknowledged duties to God and man,—this mighty and apparently impracticable work will assuredly be accomplished; and precisely in the same proportion will the real happiness of the natives and the best interests of the British empire be promoted and confirmed.

The history of the venerable and illustrious person recorded in the preceding pages forms a powerful and unanswerable example and proof of the extent to which the beneficial influence of one eminently wise, disinterested, and devoted Christian missionary in India may be carried. The success with which his labours were graciously attended, let it be remembered, has not proved, like that of Robert de Nobili, or even of Xavier himself, for the most part, superficial, nominal, transient. Like the apostles, whose spirit he had so largely imbibed, and whose steps he so closely followed, he was ordained by his heavenly Master to go and bring forth *fruit:* and his fruit, like theirs, *remains.*[1]

The history of Swartz proves, also, the important and encouraging fact, that the purest and most uncompromising exhibition of Christian doctrine and Christian precepts, illustrated and

[1] John xv. 16.

adorned as they were by his own personal character and conduct, will be so far from exciting in the natives of India, of whatever rank, any feelings of aversion or distrust, that it cannot fail when accompanied by "the meekness of wisdom," and the spirit of kindness and love, to attract their attention and to conciliate their regard. It can never be too frequently repeated, or too constantly borne in mind, that the triumph of this great missionary was that of Christianity itself, clearly and simply stated, patiently inculcated, and eminently and consistently exemplified.

For the advancement and completion of the interesting and immortal work to which the life of Swartz was devoted, we chiefly require men like-minded with himself. "Let us," said Bishop James, "have another Swartz in temper, in manner, in judgment, and in Christian feeling, and I fear not to say, that, under the blessing of God, we may look for a Swartz's success."[1]

In various important particulars, the situation and prospects of the Christian missionary in India are, since that early day, materially altered and improved. "Other men have laboured," and he is invited to "enter into their labours." One of the most pressing and cheering duties to which he is at this moment called is, not so much to break up fresh ground, as to engage in

[1] Brief Memoirs, p. 93.

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tilling that which is already under cultivation. The missionary of the present day possesses, at the same time, greater facilities for his work, with respect to the acquisition of the native languages, and is more powerfully supported and encouraged by episcopal protection and superintendence, and by general Christian sympathy and aid.

Meanwhile, the idolatry and superstition of the Hindoo are manifestly yielding to the light which is on all sides breaking in upon those polluted "chambers of imagery," and approaching to the predicted period, when they will be thrown, as worthless and unworthy, "to the bats and to the moles;" while Mahomedanism itself, proud, contemptuous, and vindictive as it is, upon whose hardened and deluded votaries but little impression has hitherto been made, is equally verging to decay; nor can we contemplate the tottering fabric of its European power, its avowed and principal support, without confidently anticipating, that its oriental bulwark, shaken as it has long been by British ascendancy and dominion, will feel in growing weakness and alarm, the prelude to its approaching fall.

Amidst these propitious symptoms, and prophetic hopes, the heavenly voice which continually resounded in the ears of the early missionaries, from Ziegenbalg to Swartz, may still be heard—"Go ye, and teach all nations—and lo!

I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." CHAP. XXIV.

May the great Proprietor and Lord of that universal field for the propagation of his gospel, qualify and send forth such labourers into his harvest, and accompany them, according to his promise, with his presence and blessing! And may He stir up the hearts of his faithful people to cherish those Christian institutions which are engaged in educating and preparing them for their sacred undertaking, as well as in supporting them amidst their arduous and self-denying labours! The pious Kiernander expressed his dying expectation, that the time would come, when the whole English nation would unite in a general society to send the gospel to the East Indies—"an event," he added, "which will give the firmest stability to the British possessions in the East." Would to God that this fervent anticipation may be realized! Yet "not by might, nor by power, *but by my Spirit*, saith the Lord of Hosts." Such is the sacred principle which must never be forgotten by those who hope for the conversion of mankind. "Until the Spirit be poured upon us from on high, the wilderness," whether of heathen or Mahomedan nations, can never become "a fruitful field."

For that divine and fertilizing influence, let those who have deeply at heart the moral re-

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novation of the world, devoutly and incessantly pray. Let them not keep silence or give rest to Him who dwelleth above the heavens, until he establish and make his church "a praise in the earth." The result of such combined exertions and prayers can scarcely be doubtful. The converts of the Gentile world would "spring up as the grass, and like willows by the watercourses." "The wilderness and the solitary place would be glad for them; and the desert would rejoice and blossom as the rose."

But whatever may be the success of such Christian labours, the hour is coming, when those who have in any, even the least and lowest measure, contributed to promote them, shall "rejoice together." Then, above all, shall those who, like Swartz, and his faithful precursors and followers, have planted and watered, at length reap in this blessed harvest, and "gather fruit unto life," and happiness "eternal."[1]

[1] John iv. 36.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from the Papers of the late John Hudleston, Esq.

THE first three letters of Mr. Swartz in Mr. Hudleston's collection were addressed to him in July and August, 1785, soon after his appointment to succeed Mr. Sullivan as Resident at Tanjore, and during the journey of the pious missionary to the south of the peninsula, mentioned in the 14th chapter of the Memoirs, vol. ii. They refer to the provincial school, which he had just established at Ramanadapuram, and to the perplexed state of affairs at that period in Tanjore. The following extracts will be found characteristic and interesting.

"Ramanadapuram, July 20, 1785.

"Yesterday I saw the rajah (of Ramanad). He told me that we might begin or open the school whenever we pleased, though his people told him there was not *a good day* for it in the month of July. This superstition

keeps people from sending their children, till they are told by those impostors that such or such a day is a good one. I said, every day was a good one, provided we did that which was good, and agreeable to the will of God.

"As to this country, it is in a thriving way. You do not hear a word of oppression. The manager here and Baba at Tanjore are as opposite as light is to darkness.

"I hope to set out soon, but the day I cannot ascertain. The manager is in the country, which is another impediment to my business. However, we must take things and men as they are, and not as we wish them to be.

"I hope you are in good health. May every divine blessing attend you!"

"Tinnevelly, August 18, 1785.

"I received your favour of the 11th this morning. It seemed to me necessary to visit the small congregation here, as I was in a very pressing manner invited, and as some circumstances rendered it necessary.

"It will not be long before I have the pleasure of waiting upon you. I believe the rajah (of Tanjore) will hardly enter upon a negotiation all at once, without making remonstrances. However, should my feeble help be of some service to you, I should in that case make all possible haste to be with you. God bless you, and strengthen your health, and cheer your heart in the midst of all vexatious circumstances!"

"Palamcotta, August 22, 1785.

"I lament the circumstances of the poor rajah, and still more the condition of the country. What the end of all this confusion will be, God alone knows. From

bad to worse seems to be the sum of all. Nor do we find any healing medicine for our disease. We appear gay as a victim adorned to be sacrificed. Still there is hope, if we applied seriously to amend. If God were on our side, it would soon be better, and we might still be a happy people. May we consider in time what belongs to our peace!

"Next Sunday I intend to administer the sacrament to the Malabar congregation, and then to set out on Monday. May you be happy in all respects!"

The following must have been written soon after the preceding, on his return to Tanjore.

"As to Baba's affair, nothing is more certain than that he wishes to have me as a cover to all his oppression. That very promise which he publicly gave to the Kengada people, he has again broken. If the rajah will let him go on in this manner, my being a mediator is hypocrisy. The rajah and Baba are entirely mistaken, if they think that I would sacrifice truth or integrity to oppression and low cunning. I am heartily tired of their behaviour, and shall mention it in the plainest terms to them and the governor. But enough of this. That part of your letter which concerns me, I translated with great reluctance, and I shall tell them so."

Among these papers of Mr. Hudleston, is a copy of a letter from the excellent missionary to Sir John Macpherson, Bart. at that time governor-general of Bengal, dated Tanjore, January 3, 1786. The object of it was to intercede with the governor-general in behalf of the distressed rajah Tuljajee, who, though oppressive towards his own subjects, was urged, as Mr. Swartz thought, too severely for the payment of the arrears due

to the Madras government and the nabob of the Carnatic. He begins with the noble simplicity and frankness which distinguished his character.

"DEAR SIR,

"As these lines are directed to one with whom I spent a month at Nagore, in a most agreeable manner, I beg leave to use the title which was at that time quite cheering and endearing. You are, I am sure, convinced that your present respectful situation loseth nothing by it.

"Though I am, as it were, shut up in a corner, I cannot but wish the welfare of the public, and particularly of that country in which I endeavour to promulgate the knowledge of my Creator and blessed Redeemer. The joyful remembrance of our frequent conversations at Nagore, your ready concurrence in promoting the intention of my stay at that place, and now the daily good news which I hear and read of your disinterested conduct, and excellent regulations so highly beneficial to Bengal, and to the affairs of the Company, encourage me to address you as a humble friend and warm well-wisher to this poor distressed country.

"The visit which Mr. Oakes lately paid to the rajah by order of the government at Madras, has particularly induced me to write these lines to you. The subject of the letter sent by you to the rajah, is quite unknown to me. But as I was interpreter between the rajah and Mr. Oakes, I guessed a little, and thought within my mind that a fair statement would not be unpleasing to you."

After endeavouring to vindicate the rajah from the charge of neglecting to fulfil his engagements with the Madras government, the benevolent missionary thus proceeds:

" Now, my dear sir, will you permit an old friend to intercede for this poor country, and the dejected rajah, requesting not to use violent or coercive measures to get the immediate payment of the arrears, which would throw the country into a deplorable and ruinous state, but rather to admonish him to rule his subjects with more justice and equity. As I write to you, I am fully convinced that this my letter can do no harm, but may be productive of some good to the country as well as to the rajah. Your whole conduct demonstrates that you are a true friend to the country, and of course that I need not be solicitous to make any apology for my writing.

" Were I so happy as to spend a few hours with you, as I did at Nagore, I should employ those precious moments in recommending to your care and kind assistance the education of young people, and particularly of the poorer sort."

Mr. Swartz then mentions Mr. Sullivan's plan of the provincial schools, and thus concludes this interesting letter:—

" I know your liberal way of thinking, and that such a plan will not be unworthy of your care. The excellent scheme of educating young people, adopted and encouraged by the army in Bengal, is a plain and strong proof of your regard for schools. Perhaps a recommendation of this to the government of Madras, or the rajah's, would go a great way in facilitating or putting in execution this our plan.

" My desire and prayer to God is, and shall be, to make you a happy instrument of his divine Providence for the benefit of this country. God bless you! My poor Pater noster shall attend you. Be happy, and try

to make others so. So shall you answer the intentions of Providence.

" I am respectfully,
" Dear Sir,
" Your most obedient humble servant,
" C. F. SWARTZ."

Early in the year 1787, Mr. Hudleston was compelled by ill health to embark for England. This was soon after the death of Tuljajee Rajah, and the succession of Ameer Sing. Mr. Swartz thus refers to the latter event, and to Mr. Hudleston's return to Europe, in a letter to him at Madras, dated February 13, 1787.

" I suppose this will be my last letter which you will receive during your stay at Madras. In my former letter I mentioned some of my apprehensions; but I hope all will go better than I thought.

" You are now resolved to go to your country and friends. May you be happy every where! We all hasten to eternity, whether we think of it, or not. O may we both meet in a blessed eternity, where sin and sorrow do not dwell! I am and always shall be,

" Dear Sir,
" Your sincere friend and servant,
" C. F. SWARTZ."

The following beautiful letter to Mr. Hudleston's mother is equally honourable to the piety of the venerable writer and the character of Mr. Hudleston.

" Tanjore, February 3, 1787.

" MADAM,

" Though I have never had the pleasure of being

acquainted with you, so as to converse with you, yet is your way of thinking, your desire of pleasing your Maker, your hunger and thirst after the righteousness of Jesus, and your christian wish to promote the welfare of your children, well known to me.

" I have enjoyed the pleasure of both your sons' acquaintance. Your eldest son has been resident here, at Tanjore, almost two years. From the very first day of our acquaintance, there has been a very cordial friendship between him and me. In all the multiplied transactions he was to take care of, he has been most open and candid, ever willing to hear and to ponder any advice which I was able to give him, which is a rare case, considering the self-conceit which is lurking in all our hearts.

" The rajah of Tanjore was particularly happy in having your son's support; without which he would have suffered severely more than once. But not only the rajah, but the honourable Company reaped great benefit from your son's conduct. Kind as he was to the rajah, he was equally faithful to his employers. Nay, I can say, consistently with the strictest truth, that your son proved a blessing to the country: for when cruel oppression had driven the inhabitants to despair and emigration, your son, my friend, entreated the rajah to become a father to his people, and consequently to hinder and suppress those cruel methods which his barbarous minister made use of. I had the pleasure of being present when this was done. I was his interpreter As far as I know, your son has acted an upright and disinterested part. Had he followed another course, he might have heaped up riches, but that base and destructive way he detested.

"As he is now prepared to return, he promises himself much happiness in paying his filial respects to his truly religious mother. Dear as you are to both your sons, you are so to me, on account of your love to our blessed Redeemer. Are not all that are connected with *him*, dear to each other?

"As to your second son, he has invited me to correspond with him, because, he says, that it will please his venerable mother, and so it will rejoice me. God bless you, dear madam, throughout all eternity! So wishes your most obedient humble friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

A farewell letter from Mr. Hudleston to Mr. Swartz, forms a suitable and very interesting sequel to the preceding.

"Madras, February 22, 1787.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I received all your kind letters with the truest satisfaction, and I now sit down to take my leave of you till I get to the Cape. I am happy indeed to find that things are likely to go well at Tanjore, and that my successor gives every indication of a disposition to follow my steps, in the only respect in which I claim any merit, that of attending to the advice, and placing a just value on the approbation, of the mentor Providence has blessed him with.

"I have endeavoured to give proper impressions here, and I will endeavour the same in England. Wherever I may be, as long as I retain the power to hold a pen, and to express my thoughts, you will punctually hear from me. Best of men, and most revered of friends!

accept the gratitude of which my heart is full! God is my witness there is nothing on earth I value so much as your approbation, and the having obtained it, is, and ever will be, my mind's great resource and comfort. Even the prospect now before me, of being restored to my nearest relations and the friends of my youth, yields but a secondary satisfaction. May all your benevolent purposes and plans be fully gratified! May Providence, in mercy to a sinful world, long preserve you in health and strength, to revive the drooping heart, sinking under distress and poverty, or, infinitely worse, the sense of guilt—to cheer the friendless orphan, and point his infant steps to the paths of truth and virtue—to turn the aged from error, and teach them the truest knowledge—the knowledge of how frail, how insecure, how slight is every mortal bliss!

"These, your own appropriate labours, may you continue to the latest period allotted to human life! If we see each other no more in this world, I trust, with you, that we shall meet in a blessed eternity; and I entreat you will write to me often, that I may become fitter and fitter for the change. Lastly, I beg of you to think of me always, and remember me by the title I am most proud of, and am most desirous of meriting, and being known by, that of

"Your most sincere and faithful friend,

"J. HUDLESTON."

Mr. Swartz's next letters were addressed to Mr. Hudleston in England. The following are extracts from several, written in the years 1787 and 1788, referring chiefly to the misgovernment of the new rajah.

" Tanjore, May 7, 1787.

" As to Ameer Sing, I must confess that he is quite altered; and not for the better. He promised fairly, but performs badly. His servants lead, or rather mislead him from one amusement to another; and he seems to forget his danger. The governor recommended justice; a court of judicature was to be established. I formed the plan, but it has been rejected, and I have lost all favour by this proposal. Every intelligent black man prophesieth the ruin of the rajah and his country. Perhaps you may ask, whether he has not been warned? My dear friend, he has been entreated to change his measures, and to save himself. But admonitions of that kind are unpalatable, and heard with disgust. Finding, therefore, that my representations were disagreeable, I retired. Shiverow insinuated that I would have every thing according to my mind—that I did not regard the rajah's dignity and fame. This, you will say, is a melancholy account. So it is, and yet I have not mentioned all, but only a part. He will soon empty his treasury. and how he will then pay his kists, I know not. But enough of this sad business. I am tolerably well. May you and your dear mother, and all your friends, enjoy the favour of God, which is better than life!"

" Tanjore, February 7, 1788.

" A few days ago I received your most agreeable favour. I can easily conceive what an exquisite pleasure you and your dear mother must have felt at the first meeting. Dear sir, you know the almost heavenly transport which good old Jacob felt when he embraced his dearly beloved Joseph. But all this is

still imperfect. What shall we feel when we meet in another world, when all imperfection, when all fear of being tempted and thrown into sin and sorrow, will cease for ever! Let us strive to gain that point. All worldly enjoyments are not to be compared to that immense glory and happiness which God in Christ, and by his atonement, has laid up for us.

" Your kind letter I have communicated to Mr. Blackburne, who is still here. Of his proficiency in the Mahratta language you may speak with great freedom.

" Your kind endeavours to make Ameer Sing happy in his government are frustrated by his extravagance. Never has a man disappointed me in so shameful a manner. Justice is totally neglected. His sirkeel, that little vain man, Shiverow, who was entreated to do common justice to some inhabitants, gave yesterday such a decision as this:—'The opponent has given one hundred and fifty pagodas as a present, will you give half at least?' Think how shamefully justice is sold."

Mr. Swartz then mentions a most improvident loan which the rajah had just contracted at exorbitant interest, and thus concludes:

" He had a good treasure which Baba hoarded up, but this is now gone. God help us all! May peace of mind, and health of body attend you!"

In a letter, dated the following day, Mr. Swartz encloses one from a native to Mr. Hudleston; who, after giving him some account of Tippoo's war with the Mahrattas, his injustice, and pride in making a throne in imitation of that which Nadir Shah found and took at Delhi, represented the distress which he and his family were suffering by the neglect of a promise made to him

by the English. The kind missionary inquires how far Mr. Hudleston might assist the poor man by his influence with the Court of Directors. "Alas!" he adds, "when I consider the poor family, and compare their former moderate prosperity with their present distress, caused by Europeans, called Christians, I cannot refrain from sighing."

He then informs Mr. Hudleston of the society of pious soldiers, frequently mentioned in the Memoirs, and concludes with the following just and important observations on the beneficial effects resulting from such moral and religious associations.

"This beginning is truly hopeful. How many lives will be saved—how many will be made serviceable to the public? not to mention the amazing advantages in respect to their eternal welfare! I wished you could convey some of my sentiments to the leading gentlemen, and assure them that the practice of religion would be of infinite service even to the prosperity of the honourable Company. You may tell them, in my name, that many severe strokes might have been prevented, if religion had been attended to. What I write I know with the greatest certainty. If I were with them, I would demonstrate the whole in the clearest manner.

"I must finish my letter. I hope you will not forget my favourite scheme of *introducing justice* into the Tanjore country. Then I hope piety would follow.

"God bless you, your dear mother, and all who wish well to Zion!"

The next letter is dated July 31, 1788, and is entirely occupied with the misgovernment of Ameer Sing, and his cruel treatment of Serfojee, as detailed in chap. xvi. of the Memoirs.

"I think, my dear sir," thus he writes as to the latter point, "that *you* and I, into whose hands the late rajah delivered the boy, are in conscience bound to represent the hardships he suffers to the honourable Company. The directors are guarantees of the last will of the late rajah.

"O how do I mourn," he exclaims, "for what I said in favour of the rajah; he and his country are miserable. A few sycophants fill their purses and ruin all."

On the cover of the preceding letter, Mr. Hudleston wrote the following note.

"On the receipt of this letter, I applied to the leading directors in favour of Serfojee. Orders were in consequence sent to Madras, and he was taken under the Company's protection."

In his next letter, dated March 18, 1789, after acknowledging a present from Mr. Hudleston, of two volumes, written by the late Dr. Beattie, probably his Essay on Truth, and his View of the Evidences of Christianity, Mr. Swartz appeals, in a very powerful and affecting manner, in behalf of the Polygars in the south of the peninsula, who were suffering severely from having had "no rain for three years," and yet were compelled to pay "their ordinary and extraordinary tribute."

"I assure you, my dear friend," says the good missionary, "that it brings guilt on the Company to suffer these people to be tormented. This way of oppressing the poor cannot bring a blessing upon us.

"I remember that Mr. Irwin intended to help the Polygars. Nay, he desired me to comfort them in his name. I did so, sent his letters to Ramanad, and other places; but I have heard no more of the matter, so that I am ashamed of having assured them of speedy relief.

"Our rajah here has been favoured with some allevia-

tion of his subsidy. It is to be wished that he may make a good use of it. At present he is preparing every thing for the marriage of his daughter, who is now seven years old.

"God bless you and your venerable mother! May we all share in the merits and blessing of the Redeemer —may we live to his glory, and be daily prepared for eternal bliss!"

"P. S. I have been informed that my letter to some gentlemen in London has been of great use to the rajah's cause. Would to God that this might do some good to the oppressed Polygars! You have my full leave to show it."

On the 8th of July following Mr. Swartz thus congratulated his friend on his marriage.

"With great pleasure I have read that you have found a consort according to your wishes. I beg you to remember me to her in the kindest manner. May you both be happy in all respects! According to the character you have given me of her, I make no doubt but you will both endeavour to live to the praise and glory of Him who has loved us, and given his life for us as a sacrifice of atonement. Tell Mrs. Hudleston that I am highly obliged for the agreeable book she sent me. May you enjoy the favour of a kind God, be guided by his Spirit, and experience his blessing!"

Mr. Swartz's next letter is dated in February 1792, more than two years after the preceding, during which interval it appears that Mr. Hudleston had returned to Madras as a member of council, and was again compelled, from ill health, to embark for England. The whole letter is deeply pious and interesting.

" Tanjore, February 7, 1792.

" My dear Friend,

" Your last favour has truly made me very sorry. You mention that on account of your indisposition you have resolved to take a passage in the Northumberland. You have, I hope, received my last letter, wherein I recommended a journey to us. But that is now, as I see, too late.

" The greatest and most useful lesson, which we are to learn and practise, is, 'Thy will be done, O God.' This lesson we learn with difficulty; however, if we humble ourselves and believe, as we ought, that God directs all to our advantage, we shall willingly, if not cheerfully, resign our will to his divine and perfect will.

" You take now your farewell, and I do the same. Having lived nearly forty-two years in this climate, my strength decreaseth, and I look out for a blessed eternity.

" God has dealt kindly, very kindly, with me. He has led me as a father, forgiven me ten thousand talents which I owed him, has given me a knowledge of his love, and the love of my Redeemer; has made me, unworthy creature, an instrument of his grace to convey some knowledge of the Redeemer to others; so that I have a lively hope of finding some with whom I shall sing the praises due to the blessed Jesus for ever and ever.

" To complain I have no cause; except when I consider how often I have disobeyed him. Then I have reason enough to complain of myself. But I know the exceedingly great mercy of my God, who is willing to cover my sins, and to heal all my infirmities.

" You, my dear friend, are younger in years, and may still live for some time. I entreat you to give your

whole heart to him, who can fill it with eternal joy. All worldly goods are deficient in that respect. They may please us, but they cannot make us truly happy. Let us therefore take our refuge in him who has loved us, and given himself for us. Live to his glory, and forget not that the true disciples of Jesus crucify the flesh and the lusts of it. Be guided by the blessed Spirit of God —trust not in your own strength—watch and pray, and the God of peace be with you.

" May we see one another in a world where sin and sorrow are not to be met with.

" So wishes your affectionate Friend,

" C. F. SWARTZ.

" P. S. As long as I live, or have any strength, I shall write to you. Adieu."

The following letter to Mrs. Hudleston, will be read with equal interest and pleasure. Mr. Hudleston was evidently the bearer of it.

" Tanjore, March 8, 1792.

" DEAR MADAM,

" As I am a friend to your dear consort, with whom I have spent many happy years, I am certain that you will honour me with that appellation.

" I cannot but feel sorrow at his departure. I wished and hoped that he still might be beneficial to this country, particularly as we now have a pleasing prospect of peace. But God's will be done, who best knows what is truly good for us. To resign our will to his is our duty and our happiness too. May God preserve and guard him in the passage, so that you may meet one another with joy!

" As God has made you a joyful mother, you will, I hope, be happy in educating your children, so that they may be a blessing to their fellow-creatures, and a true joy of both your hearts.

" I must confess that the education which many parents give to their children, is highly detrimental. They spend their younger years in learning those things which profit them nothing. Their understandings are not furnished with divine knowledge, their wills are not bent to love and obey God, their passions not properly restrained or directed. At last they grow up without fearing, obeying and honouring God: they are ashamed of showing any thing relative to true Christianity. They are taught to do their duty, without knowing the source from whence they ought to draw strength.

" I find that in many of the latest publications, the atonement of the Redeemer, and the divine operations of the blessed Spirit of God, are altogether forgotten, nay, exploded. If the foundation of true Christianity is destroyed, what superstructure can be raised? I therefore cannot but entreat you to learn the way to heaven from the sermons of your Redeemer and the epistles of St. Paul and the other apostles. My favourite chapter is the third of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. There you will find the genuine character of a true Christian.

" All worldly things, though not sinful in themselves, appear to that exalted Christian as dross. He wishes to find Christ as his treasure and greatest gain, by whom he has obtained mercy, pardon, peace, and a hope of everlasting life.

" He explains the reasons why he was so much attached to Jesus, namely, because without him he had no righte-

ousness and pardon. In and by his Redeemer he wished to be made like unto his death, and the disposition of the heart of the dying Redeemer. In and by him he hoped to attain a joyful resurrection. Such a state is unspeakably happy. O may this be your and my happy state! So wishes,

"Dear Madam,

"Your unknown but sincere Friend,

"C. F. SWARTZ."

On the 28th of February, 1793, Mr. Swartz wrote to Mr. Hudleston from Vepery, informing him of his journey to Madras, as the guardian of Serfojee and the late rajah's family. It is, however, unnecessary to repeat what is so fully detailed in the 18th chapter of the Memoirs as to the causes of this visit to the presidency. The conclusion of the letter is marked by his characteristic piety.

"I hope you are quite settled, and enjoy your rest from noise and multiplied occupations.

"Peace, that most desirable blessing, is enjoyed by this whole country. May we seek likewise peace with God in the way which he most graciously has revealed to us. The enjoyment of that blessing will not only rejoice our hearts, but promote real happiness, nay, make our departure easy or joyous.

"May your dear children grow up in godliness, and all truly good accomplishments!"

Mr. Hudleston, in a reply to the preceding letter, a copy of which is among his papers, after expressing his lively interest in the welfare of Madras, his regret that Ameer Sing had proved so unworthy of Mr. Swartz's and his own disinterested exertions to place him on the

musnud, and his satisfaction on hearing of his journey to Madras with Serfojee, gives the following cordial invitation to his venerable friend to spend the remainder of his days in England.

"May I not entertain a ray of hope of your coming to this country, and passing the evening of your days under my roof; where you should be exactly as retired as you wished? Mrs. Hudleston, who is extremely sensible of your goodness to her, heartily joins me in this invitation. We live in a quiet retired manner, and our principal anxiety will soon be directed to the education of our children; a work in which you, my dear sir, would give us the most truly valuable assistance."

In a postscript to this letter, dated October 31, 1794, Mr. Hudleston adds, that, at the suggestion of his wife, they had named an infant son, then just born, "Frederick," after their revered friend; to which they had attached another "endeared name," that of Irwin.

Mr. Swartz does not appear to have replied to this letter till the 10th of January 1796, when he assures Mr. Hudleston that he had read it "again and again with great pleasure." He recurs to the infatuation of Ameer Sing in retaining his unworthy minister Shiverow, and intimates, as stated in the Memoirs, that his adherence to him and his family was owing to his fears, "that they could and would prove his want of right to the throne."

He then refers to his advancing age, and thus piously concludes this beautiful letter.

"Some months ago I entered on the 70th year of my age. But, blessed be God, I can still perform my duties with ease and satisfaction. I felt, however, one severe attack which had nearly put an end to my life.

One evening, when the children had left me, I felt all at once a very painful oppression,[1] that I could hardly breathe. This continued from nine o'clock in the evening till three in the morning. It returned once more, but with less violence and shorter duration.

"This illness, which came upon me all of a sudden, I look upon as a kind monitor to teach me that my gracious Lord will soon call me away. May I be able to say, 'Come, Lord Jesus!' You see, then, my dear sir, that I shall soon quit this world. A blessed eternity is now the daily subject of my meditation. How awful is this change! Blessed be God, who hath sent us a Redeemer who has borne our sins, and purchased eternal happiness for all. The Redeemer Jesus Christ, is the true, nay, the only comfort of all who, being sensible of their sins, flee to him for refuge. For who is that person, which dares to confide in his own righteousness? Paul looked upon the righteousness of Jesus as his only support. "To win Christ, and to be found in him," was the passionate wish of that blessed apostle.

"Such was, I believe, the aim of your deceased father-in-law,[2] who now enjoys what he had believed, practised, and preached. To look up to that glorious state of the blessed in heaven is and will be a strong preservative of a true Christian.

"May God bless your dear children, and particularly my dear Frederick Irwin! May he prove the joy of his parents, and a blessed instrument of promoting the spiritual and temporal prosperity of his fellow-creatures, and at last be received into eternal glory!

[1] See chap. xx.

[2] Of whose pious and happy departure Mr. Hudleston had informed Mr. Swartz in the preceding letter.

"Remember me kindly to your dear consort. I remember how highly Major Stevens[1] spoke of his mother, who had instilled into his tender mind the principles of true piety. May your dear consort so educate her children, that before the throne of Christ she may be able to say, 'Behold here am I, and the children which thou hast given me!'"

This was Mr. Swartz's last and most truly christian letter to Mr. Hudleston. The next which occurs in his collection is from Mr. Gericke, announcing the painful intelligence of their venerated friend's translation to a higher world.

"His death," writes the excellent Gericke, in language closely resembling that of the Memoirs,[2] "was such as might be expected from the tenor of his life." He then acknowledges the arrival of a letter from Mr. Hudleston to Mr. Swartz a few days after his death, and adds as follows.

"You had anxiously waited for more favourable accounts regarding his health; but alas! though he himself is now made perfectly happy, we, and thousands with us, are left to lament his loss. Nay, I believe there are none that have known him, of Europeans and Indians, Christians, Mahomedans, and heathens, but lament with us, that such a man is no more on earth with them."

On the 10th of June, 1799, Mr. Hudleston, in a letter to Mr. Kohlhoff, expresses his heartfelt concern and affliction on the death of his inestimable friend, "whose existence," he says, "upon earth I had sanguinely hoped would have been prolonged in mercy to a sinful world, that can but ill afford to lose the purest model of virtue,

[1] See chap. x. [2] Chap. xxii.

truth, and piety, that ever walked upon its surface, one only excepted. I well know, sir, the footing on which you had the happiness to stand with that best and most revered of men; and I trust you cannot be ignorant that I was honoured with a share of his regard—of which I am more proud than of any other acquisition I ever made."

Mr. Hudleston next observes, that it had occurred to him that the promulgating such a life as that of Mr. Swartz "would be an essential benefit to mankind, by tending to spread and perpetuate the benefit of his spotless example," and requests Mr. Kohlhoff and Mr. Gericke to communicate to him all the particulars of his history which might be in their power—"for every incident," he says, "of his life will be interesting, and the unvaried tenor of his righteous course will administer the truest satisfaction and encouragement to every sincere Christian. You, I doubt not," he continues, "were with him in his last hours, and witnessed (to use the memorable words of Addison) 'in what peace a Christian can die;' and I am extremely anxious to hear from you the particulars of that afflicting and transcendently interesting period."

Mr. Hudleston then expresses his anxiety to possess some little memorial of his highly-valued friend—a ring, or seal, or walking stick, which would be to him inestimable.

In March, 1801, Mr. Kohlhoff replied to the preceding letter, by sending Mr. Hudleston a snuff-box which had belonged to their beloved friend, and a gold ring with some of his hair, which he had taken after his death. He encloses an extract from his letter to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, containing

some particulars respecting Mr. Swartz's death, but expresses his inability to afford Mr. Hudleston any account of his life, and informs him that Mr. Gericke intended to write it—"but after all," he adds, "it must be an imperfect one, as our late beloved friend kept no copies of his letters, nor a diary of his transactions, or works. But however imperfect it may be, it will be very acceptable."

In an answer to the preceding letter, in 1802, Mr. Hudleston rejoiced that "the task of giving to the world some account of the life of him who was one of the greatest blessings ever lent to it," had been undertaken by one so competent to fulfil it as Mr. Gericke, but expressed his fears lest from residing at such a distance from Tanjore, he should not be sufficiently acquainted with that most interesting period of Mr. Swartz's life which comprehended his own residence at Tanjore as the Company's minister.

"To you, sir," he says, "I think it cannot be unknown that in all my administration at Tanjore, Mr. Swartz was my mentor and guide, as well as the medium through which my intercourse with the poor rajah Tuljajee was carried on; and that every complaint or representation made to me was referred to his investigation and report, on which my decision was invariably founded. The severe and unjust orders of the then government respecting the rajah, which went to the length of directing me to seize the person of his minister, and send him to Madras, and to take possession of the Tanjore country, and collect the revenue on the Company's account, I should perhaps hardly have ventured to resist or remonstrate against, if I had not been encouraged

and fortified by Mr. Swartz's concurrent opinion, and most perfect approbation."

Mr. Hudleston then refers to the affecting, and to their lamented friend the highly honourable scene, which took place at the palace the night preceding the death of the Rajah Tuljajee, "when," as he justly observes, "the highest tribute ever paid to European virtue was offered by that prince, in his earnest request and entreaty to permit him to appoint Mr. Swartz the regent and manager of all the affairs of his country till his adopted son Serfojee should come of age," and to the distinguished kindness and honour shown him by Hyder Ali, "to whom all others of European race, in connexion with the English, were so obnoxious."

Two other letters remain among Mr. Hudleston's papers, one of which, from Serfojee Rajah, in the year 1814, contains the following passage, which that prince evidently intended as the highest compliment that he could pay to Mr. Hudleston and Mr. Torin.

"It is true that many of the noble and amiable qualities of our dear friend, the Rev. Mr. Swartz, by which he has made so great a figure in the world, and which were productive of many advantages and benefits to me, would have died with him, had they not found their way to the hearts of you and Mr. Torin. The consequence is, that though the loss which I have sustained in the death of that unexampled personage is irreparable, I have sufficient reason to rest contented, because I am certain that the same qualities in you will produce the same effects."

The author cannot deny himself the pleasure of quoting the next passage in his late highness's letter, which

contains the following honourable tribute to a gentleman from whom he has received so much gratifying attention in the compilation of these Memoirs.

" What you have said with regard to the Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne, the present resident at my durbar, is very true, and to praise him as I ought is beyond my power. I think it is enough to tell you, that the happiness which I enjoy I owe to himself entirely; because I assure you that it is his prudent and judicious advice alone which saves me from many evils to which my situation is always liable—not to mention his unremitted exertions to preserve my honour and dignity.

The other letter referred to is from Mr. Hudleston, in reply to the preceding from Serfojee Rajah, in which, among other subjects, he expresses his grateful sense of his highness's kind recollection of what he always felt as one the happiest circumstances of his life, the having received him from the arms of his illustrious friend Tuljajee Maharajah, who in his dying words, had recommended him to his care. " Nor can I ever forget," he adds, " the kind expression of his entire reliance on my friendship which was the last I heard from his lips, as it was interpreted to me by our holy, venerable, and beloved friend, Mr. Swartz, who is now an angel in heaven."

Though, for the reasons already stated, Mr. Hudleston did not fulfil his intention of writing the life of Mr. Swartz, an unfinished sketch of his character was found among his papers, together with observations on some circumstances relating to his history, from which the author has extracted a few passages, which serve still further to develope and illustrate the peculiar and unrivalled excellence of the revered missionary.

In referring to the mission of Mr. Swartz to Hyder Ali, in the year 1779,[1] the relation of which, Mr. Hudleston observes, he received from his own mouth, after stating the circumstances which led to this remarkable journey, he thus proceeds:

"In his very first interview, Hyder told him, that he was made an instrument to cover intentions and views very different from the purity of his own mind; that the English had adopted the designs of his enemy, (the Nabob,) and that it was now too late to convince him that they had altered their policy, or that they entertained any views really friendly to him. He then requested Mr. Swartz not to renew the subject, but assured him that for any other purpose he was welcome to stay in Seringapatam, and should receive every attention, and might come to his durbar as often as he pleased, and thus remarkably concluded, that "he had also his free permission to try to convert any of his people to his religion, if he thought he could succeed; for he was sure he would say nothing improper to them, or that would tend to injure *his* authority." Mr. Swartz soon after took his leave of Hyder, and returned to Tanjore; finding in every village, as he passed, the Amildars and the inhabitants in general eager to show him attention, and to supply him gratuitously with everything which he required. Hyder Ali the next year executed his plan of vengeance, but forgot not that there was *one* European against whom he had no resentment; and the order to all his officers, civil and military, "to permit the venerable padre Swartz to pass free and unmolested, and to show him respect and kind-

[1] See Memoirs, vol. i. chap. 10.

ness," was issued, as related in the tenth chapter of the Memoirs.

Mr. Hudleston adds a few important and interesting circumstances to the narrative which has been fully given of the death of the Rajah Tuljajee, and his adoption of a son, as well as respecting the character and history of the Rajah himself. He asserts that Mr. Swartz remonstrated with the dying prince on the injustice as well as the impolicy of excluding his brother from the regency during the minority of Serfojee, and earnestly entreated him to release him from confinement, and to be reconciled to him—advice which after some deliberation was accepted; but which, from the subsequent misconduct of Ameer Sing, Mr. Swartz had reason bitterly to regret.

"I shall now," continues Mr. Hudleston, "state two interesting facts with respect to the Rajah Tuljajee, which, I believe, are known to very few even in India. The first which I shall mention led me to conjecture, that in the interview between the rajah and Mr. Swartz, on the night preceding his death, something more might have passed than he was at liberty to communicate; it was this—the rajah, almost with his dying breath, gave the most positive injunctions to his wives not to burn with his body, and to his officers not to permit them to do so; and these injunctions were strictly obeyed.

"The other fact had reference to a date nearly twenty years preceding, and before the commencement of our interference with the affairs of Tanjore. Mr Swartz then resided principally at Trichinopoly, but often visited Tanjore, and had frequent interviews with the Rajah Tuljajee, who possessed qualities very unusual in persons of that rank in India. With the ordinary en-

dowments of a polished exterior, mildness, and urbanity of manners, he united sensibility, an excellent understanding, and strength of mind. There was something of attraction in Mr. Swartz which no language can adequately express. It will not, therefore, excite wonder that the rajah became attached to him, sought his friendship, and placed in him unbounded confidence. Perhaps the reader's mind may be prepared for the extraordinary result, and have anticipated the fact to which I have alluded, namely, *that the rajah became convinced of the truth of the Christian religion.* The sequel I cannot relate without pain, nor, as an Englishman, without a sense of humiliation, but justice to the rajah's memory forbids the suppression of it. "The rajah was about to declare himself a Christian, when the British army, in aid of the nabob of the Carnatic,[1] and in furtherance of his views, entered his country, and after defeating his forces, laid siege to his capital. A compromise or suspension of hostilities for that time was purchased of the nabob by the rajah; but the following year the armies again advanced, Tanjore was taken by assault, and the rajah made prisoner. The East India Company felt, as became them, the horrid injustice of the transaction, and sent Lord Pigot to Madras to redress it. But it had gone far beyond the reach of any adequate reparation; and the rajah, offended and disgusted, abandoned all thoughts of becoming a Christian. It did not, however, diminish his confidence in Mr. Swartz, as has been shown in relating the history of the last hours of his existence."

In the essay, towards a view of Mr. Swartz's character and labours, which has been before alluded to, and

[1] See vol. i. Chap. viii. ix.

which was left imperfect and unfinished, Mr. Hudleston premises, that whatever he has stated respecting him was the result of personal knowledge and experience, after several years of intimate and uninterrupted friendship and correspondence.

After speaking of Mr. Swartz's success as a missionary, and of the respect and veneration in which he was invariably held, he proceeds as follows.

" By what charm, then, or spell, did he acquire such unbounded influence over the minds of many millions of the natives inhabiting the vast regions of the peninsula of India, so that the confidence of poor and rich, of prince and peasant, was equal, and voluntarily and unanimously given; so that in the midst of war and desolation, he walked as securely in the enemy's districts as in our own—all, with one accord, holding his person sacred, and eager to show him kindness and attention? In undertaking to answer this interesting question, I engage in a task which is of all others the most gratifying to me, and at the same time, one to which I am conscious my abilities are most inadequate, since it involves an endeavour to delineate the character of Mr. Swartz.

" In pure and genuine *piety*, there is a charm that commands the general suffrage of mankind, which even the impious and the profligate feel and reverence. This charm, this attribute, the truly illustrious person of whom I am speaking, possessed in a degree, I verily believe, pre-eminent over all the rest of the sons of men that have existed since the times of the apostles. In the external manifestations of piety, and in zeal to promote and extend its influence both by precept and example, I am aware and gladly acknowledge that he has been and is

at this moment, emulated by distinguished individuals in this country, some few of whom it has been and is my pride and happiness to be able to number among my friends; and I doubt not by many others whose spheres of action are more confined. They have reminded me too of *that* in Mr. Swartz, which no single word in our language can, at least to my satisfaction, adequately express. It was the union of piety, not with unassuming meekness and humility only, which are its inseparable attendants, but of piety joined with an almost infantine *simplicity*, and unaccompanied by the smallest tincture of austerity, fanaticism, or dogmatical conceit. It diffused perpetual serenity and cheerfulness over his whole aspect, and by an irresistible impulse commanded at once respect and affection. In the presence of a monarch, you could not feel more conscious of inferiority; yet it was a feeling unmixed with pain or fear. It was not possible to converse with him once without being impatient to converse with him again; and to those who were accustomed to that gratification, his absence presented a vacuum, though in the midst of company.

"It was not his custom, except with his most intimate friends,[1] to introduce voluntarily the subject of religion; but the instant the conversation led to it, you saw his countenance light up, and beam a smile of benignant approbation. No one, I believe, ever heard from his lips an *uncharitable* word.

[1] This must only be understood of Mr. Swartz's unwillingness to obtrude religious conversation upon strangers, where he thought that it might not prove useful; otherwise, the whole history of his life shows, that he was anxious upon all practicable occasions to render his intercourse with all around him pious and edifying.

" In these virtues, as I have already intimated, Mr. Swartz may have been equalled by many other amiable and revered characters, though by none surpassed; but in *another respect*, he was, I think, absolutely unrivalled; and it was this, which more than all the other features of his character, great and venerable as they were, rooted him in the affection of the natives, and made them consider him as distinguished from all the rest of mankind. He presented to their astonished eyes the union of genuine piety with an entire abstraction, in respect to himself, from temporal views, while his endeavours were constantly exerted to promote their temporal as well as eternal welfare. Nor were those for the former lessened by their not accepting the greater boon; in regard to which, however, he was of infinite benefit to many thousands whom his moral precepts improved, and reclaimed from their lawless and dishonest courses, although they did not accept the pure religion which he offered them in the place of their own idolatry. And on whose lips could persuasion hang, if not on *his* who exhibited to them the Christian religion in its loveliest form, and in all its native purity; in the undeviating tenor of whose spotless course they saw its genuine offspring, and a model of all it teaches—for, as most truly stated in the inscription on his tomb, " his life was one continued effort to imitate the example of his blessed Master;" and most especially in the unaffected lowliness and benignity which were the peculiar characteristics of that Divine Person; in his practice of addressing himself principally to those " that labour and are heavy laden," and in making himself looked up to as the unfailing advocate of the poor and the injured, for whom

his intercessions were incessant, as were his endeavours to obtain for them of the prince of the country the blessings of a lenient and equitable government. And as he had interceded for the people with their prince, so for the latter Mr. Swartz interceded with the British government, when he knew him to have been treated with rigour and injustice.

"Here again I must allude to that in him of which I believe history records no other example, namely, that all this success, unparalleled before or since, in winning the hearts of men, and all this homage, produced in Mr. Swartz *no change*. The same humility and abstraction from every interested or worldly view, which distinguished him at the commencement of his career, distinguished him through all its progress, and to its final close, amidst the favour of princes, states, and governments, of men of every denomination, and of every religion and sect.

"With the means of wealth and worldly consequence, in a word, of all that other men look up to, completely at his command, he continued *poor*, applying all that he received to the good of others, and reserving nothing for himself beyond what was necessary to provide for his daily wants. To him the natives saw no resemblance either in any other European, or in themselves. They saw other Europeans in succession lift themselves from obscurity and humble stations, to affluence, rank, and power, then disappear, and others take their places, but none taking any interest in *their* welfare, or making use of them except as a means of accomplishing their own aggrandisement; *but Swartz remained with them*. In *him* they always saw the same unaspiring meekness, and

the same condition, and found in him the same kind and disinterested friend.[1] What could the natives of India, among whom he lived, conclude respecting such a man, but that which they *did* conclude, and which was a common observation among them when he was spoken of, namely, that he was unlike and superior to all other men."

Such are the principal contents of the late Mr. Hudleston's papers respecting the venerable missionary of Tanjore. They will appear, as the author has stated in the advertisement prefixed to this Edition of the Memoirs, to contain but little that is strictly new; but they will be found peculiarly interesting and valuable, as confirming, upon the highest authority, all that had been previously recorded concerning that truly eminent person; and as adding one more powerful and coinciding testimony to a pious excellence, and a moral influence, which may be justly deemed unequalled and unrivalled in the annals of Christian missions.

[1] Mr. Hudleston here mentions, that for the first twenty of the fifty years that he was lent to the Indian world, Swartz pursued his benevolent scheme on *foot;* nor would he take to the use of a palankeen until the climate and advancing age had considerably impaired his strength, when he consented to permit a palankeen to be kept for him at the public expense.

THE END.

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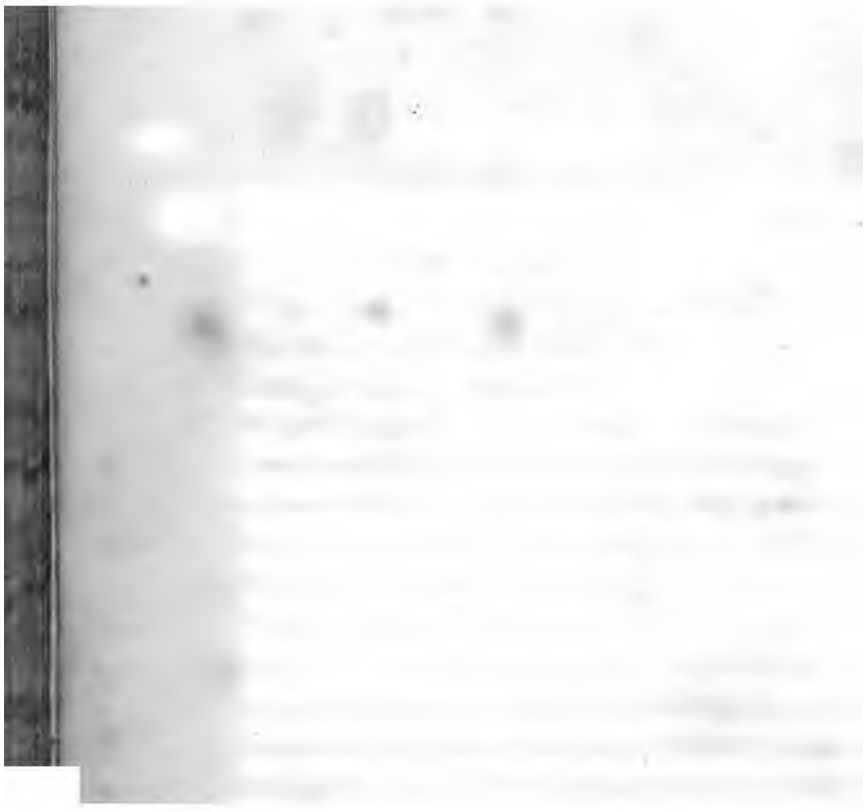

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